



CHARLEMAGNE.

W O R K S
O F
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

W I T H
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
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VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

L O N D O N,

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OF THE
FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

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T O H E R

S E R E N E H I G H N E S S

T H E

D U C H E S S O F S — G —

MADAM,

IT was in obedience to the orders of your Serene Highness, that I undertook the abridgement of the History of the Empire, which would have had much more merit, had my stay at your court been of long duration; as I should have been better qualified to describe virtue, especially that human and social virtue which derives additional lustre from wit and beauty; though this indeed has but small influence over history. Ambition disguised under the specious name of interest of states, which, however, it serves only to involve in misfortunes, and those ferocious passions, by which politics have been almost always conducted, leave very little room for the mild virtues that seek to dwell with tranquility and peace. The world abounds with troubles and with crimes, and history is no other than a picture of the outrages and distress of mankind. It is of consequence to all the nations of Europe to make themselves acquaint-

B ed

2 To her SERENE HIGHNESS, &c.

ed with the revolutions of the Empire. The histories of France, England, Spain, and Poland, are confined within their own boundaries: but the Empire is a more extensive theatre: her prerogatives, her pretensions, and fights over Rome and Italy, the number of kings and sovereigns she hath made, the dignities she hath conferred in other states, and her almost continual assemblies of so many princes, form an august scene, even in the most unpolished ages. But the detail of those particulars is immense; and men of business have too little time to peruse that prodigious assemblage of incidents which throng upon one another, and those collections of laws which have been rendered contradictory by intended explanation.

The justness of your judgment prompted you to desire the perusal of annals, which should be equally entertaining and concise, so as to give a general idea of the Empire, in a language which is understood by all nations, and embellished by the graces of your pronunciation; and the orders of your Serene Highness might have, doubtless, been obeyed with more success, but not with more zeal and veneration.

A LETTER

A LETTER from Mr. de V—— to Mr. de ——
 Professor of History.

S I R,

YOU must have perceived that the pretended Universal History printed at the Hague, and said to be carried down to Charles V. though it contains less than the title promises, by more than a whole century, was not originally intended to see the light. It is no other than a crude collection made in the course of old studies, in which I was engaged, about fifteen years ago, with a person of a most respectable character, far transcending her sex and the age in which she lived, whose understanding comprehended all sorts of erudition, and whose understanding was reinforced by taste, without which that erudition would have been insipid, and scarce intitled to the name of merit.

I prepared that ground-work solely for her use and my own, as may be plainly seen by considering the beginning: it is an account to which I freely call myself, of what I had been reading; the best method of learning and acquiring distinct ideas: for a bare reading alone leaves little more than a confused picture in the memory.

My principal aim was to trace the revolutions of the human understanding in those of governments.

I endeavoured to discover in what manner so many bad men, conducted by worse princes,

have notwithstanding, at the long run, established societies, in which the arts and sciences, and even the virtues, have been cultivated.

I attempted to find the paths of commerce, that privately repairs the ruins which savage conquerors leave behind them ; and I studied to know, from the price of provisions, the riches or poverty of a people : above all things, I examined in what manner the arts revived and supported themselves in the midst of such desolation.

The character of nations is strongly marked by poetry and eloquence. I translated passages from some of the ancient oriental poets ; and still remember one from the Persian Sadi, upon the power of the Supreme Being, in which we see the same genius that inspired the Arabian, Hebrew, and all oriental writers ; that is, more imagination than propriety ; more of the *fustian* than the sublime : their diction is figurative, but their figures are often very ill arranged ; their sallies of imagination are hitherto vague and superficial ; and they are utterly ignorant of the art of transition. This is the passage from Sadi in blank verse :

“ He knows distinctly that which never was ;
His ear is fill’d with what was never heard ;
A monarch he, that needs no kneeling slave ;
A judge, that executes no written law ;
With his omniscience, like a graver’s tool,
He trac’d our features in each mother’s womb :
From morn to eve he leads the sun along,
With rubies sows the mountain’s mighty mass :
He takes two drops of water ; one starts up
A perfect man, the other shines a pearl.

He

He spoke the word and Being sprung from nought :
His word the universe will quickly melt
Into th' immensity of space and void :
His word will raise the universe again,
From depth of nothing to the plains of Being."

Sadi was a native of Bactriana, and cotemporary with Dante, who was born in Florence in the year 1265, and whose verses did honour to Italy, even when there was not one good prose author among all our modern nations. This genius happened to rise at a time when the quarrels between the empire and the church had left rankling wounds in different states, as well as in the minds of men. He was a Ghibeline, consequently persecuted by the Guelphs; therefore we must not be surprised to find him venting his chagrin in his poem to this effect :

" Two suns of old, in one united blaze,
Diffus'd their genial warmth and chearing rays,
That banish'd darkness, and display'd the road
Which leads bewilder'd man to truth and God,
The imperial eagle's rights were plainly shewn,
And the lamb's sep'rate privileges known :
But now no more that light congenial shines ;
One, dim'd with vapours, from his orb declines ;
With dusky flame and heat unhollowed teems,
Ambitious to eclipse the other's beams ;
War, blood, contention, and confusion reign ;
The lamb now roars, a lion on the plain,
Proud in his purple robes usurp'd appears,
And with the shepherd's crook the sov'reign's
sceptre wears."

I translated above twenty pretty long passages from Dante, Perarch, and Ariosto; and with

a view to compare the genius of a nation with that of her imitators, I culled some parallel verses from Spenser, of which I endeavoured to preserve the sense and spirit with the utmost exactness. Thus I pursued the arts in their career.

Without engaging in the vast labyrinth of philosophical absurdities, which have been so long honoured with the name of science, I only took notice of the most palpable errors which had been mistaken for the most incontestible truths; and confining myself intirely to the useful arts, I still kept in view the history of all the discoveries which have been made from Geber the Arabian, who invented Algebra, to the very last miracles of our own time.

This part of the history was doubtless the favourite of my attention, and the revolutions of states were no more than accessory to those of the arts and sciences. This whole work, which had cost me so much trouble, having been stolen from me some years ago, I was the more chagrined, as I found myself absolutely incapable of beginning again such a tedious and toilsome task.

That part which was purely historical, remained in my hands an undigested mass: it is brought down to the reign of Philip II. and ought to be continued to the age of Lewis XIV.

This series of history, disincumbered of all the details which commonly obscure the plan, as well as of all those minute circumstances of war, so interesting at the time, but so tedious afterwards, together with the smaller occurrences which never fail to injure the great events, ought to compose a vast picture, which,
by

by striking the imagination, might assist the memory.

Several persons expressed a desire of having the manuscript, imperfect as it was; and indeed there are above thirty copies of it, which I gave the more willingly, because, finding myself unable to work longer on the subject, I considered them as so many materials put into the hands of those who might finish the performance.

When Mr. de la Bruiere had the privilege of the French Mercury about the year 1747, he begged of me some sheets which appeared in his journal, and were afterwards collected in the year 1751; for they make collections of every thing. What relates to the Crusades, which was but a part of the work, they inserted in this collection as a detached piece, and the whole was printed very incorrectly under the preposterous title of *A Plan of the History of the human Understanding*. This pretended plan of the history of the human understanding contains no more than some historical chapters relating to the ninth and tenth centuries.

A bookseller at the Hague having found a more complete manuscript, has printed it under the title of *An Abridgement of the Universal History, from the Time of Charles the Great, to the reign of Charles V.* although it goes not so far as Lewis XI. king of France: probably he had no more copy, or was resolved to suspend the publication of his third volume, until the two first should be sold off.

He says, he bought the manuscript of a man who lives at Brussels; and indeed I was informed, that a domestic, belonging to his highness prince Charles of Lorraine, had been long in

possession of a copy which fell into his hands by a very remarkable accident; for it was taken in a box among the equipage of a certain prince, which was pillaged by the hussars in a battle fought in Bohemia. This work being therefore got by the right of war, is a lawful prize: but one would imagine the same hussars had directed the printing, for it is strangely disfigured, and the most interesting chapters are totally wanting; almost all the dates are false, and the proper names for the most part disguised. There are many expressions which convey no idea, and a number that convey such as are either ridiculous or indecent. The transitions, the connections are misplaced. I am often made to say that which is quite contrary to what I have said; and I cannot conceive how any body should read that work as it hath been presented to the public. I am very glad that the bookseller has found his account in the sale of it; but, if he had consulted me on this subject I would have enabled him to oblige the world with a work that would not have been so defective; and seeing it was impossible to stop the impression, I would have taken all imaginable pains to arrange that uninformed mass, which, in its present condition, does not deserve the notice of any sensible man *.

As I did not believe that any bookseller would have run the risque of publishing such an imperfect work, I frankly own I have made use of some of the materials to build a more regu-

* Since the publication of these annals, Mr. de Voltaire has given a complete edition of his historical tracts, the same which we have translated.

lar and solid edifice. One of the most respectable princesses of Germany, to whom I could refuse nothing, having done me the honour to desire I would write the Annals of the Empire, I have made no scruple to insert a small number of pages from that pretended Universal History, in the work which she commanded me to compose.

While I was busied in giving her Serene Highness this proof of my obedience, and the Annals of the Empire were almost already printed off, I understood that a certain German, who was last year at Paris, had employed his talents on the same subject, and that his work was ready to appear. Had I known the circumstance sooner, I should certainly have put a stop to the impression of mine: for I know he is more equal than me to such an enterprize, and I am very far from pretending to enter the lists with such a rival; but the bookseller to whom I have made a present of my manuscript, has taken too much pains in serving me, to be deprived of the fruits of his labour: besides, the taste and manner in which I have wrote these Annals of the Empire, being altogether different from the method observed by that learned gentleman, whom I have had the honour to mention, perhaps the understanding reader may not be sorry to see *the same truths* displayed in different lights.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE short annals contain all the principal events since the renewal of the Empire of the West. Here we see five or six kingdoms vassals to that empire, that long quarrel between the emperors and popes, that of Rome with both, and that obstinate struggle of the feudal right against the supreme power. Here we see how Rome, that was so often on the brink of being subdued, escaped a foreign yoke, and in what manner that government, which subsists in Germany, was established. It is at once the History of the Empire and the Church, the detail of Germany and Italy. Germany gave birth to that religion which hath withdrawn so many states from the jurisdiction of the Roman church. The same country is become the bulwark of the Christian states against the Ottomans; so that what we call the Empire, is, since the time of Charlemagne, the greatest theatre of Europe.

To the first volume is prefixed a catalogue of the emperors, with the year of their birth, accession, and death, together with the names of their wives and children. Opposite to this, is a list of the popes, mostly characterized by the principal actions of their lives, and marked with the year of their exaltation; so that the reader, with one glance of the eye, may consult this table, without going in search of the fragments of this list at the head of the reign of each emperor. To the second volume is likewise prefixed a column of all the electors: but a catalogue of the kings of Europe and the Ottoman emperors, which is so easily found every-where else, would have too much augmented the bulk of the the work, which was intended to be equally concise and complete.

EMPERORS.

I

CHarlemagne, born April 10th 742, became Emp. in 800. d. in 814. His wives were Hildegarde daughter of Childebrant count of Suabia. Irmengarde supposed to be the same with Desiderata daughter of Didier king of the Lombards. Fastrada of Franconia. Luitgarde of Suabia. His concubines or wives of the second rank were Ilmetrude, Galienne, Matagarde, Gerfinde, Regina, Adelaide, and many others. His children were Charles king of Germany, died in 771. Pepin king of Italy, died in 810. Father of Bernard king of Italy, stock of the house of Vermandois, dispossessed, deprived of his eye sight and died in 818.

Lewis the Pious, the Debonnaire, or the weak Emperor, Rotrude betrothed to Constantine

V.

P O P E S.

Zacharias, exalted in 741. It was he who (it is said) pronounced "that he alone was king who had the kingly power."

Stephen II. or III. exalted in 751. the first who ordered himself to be carried on men's shoulders.

Paul I. 757. in his time the church was divided by the great quarrel about images.

Stephen III. or IV. 768. He disputed the papacy with Constantine, who was a secular, and with Philip, and there was abundance of blood-shed.

Adrian I. 772. his legates had the first seat at the second council of Nicea.

Leo III. 795. he conferred the appellation of emperor on Charlemagne on Christmas-day 800, but would not add *Filloque* to the creed.

B 6

He

EMPERORS.

POPES.

V. emperor of the East. Bertha married to one of Charlemagne's chancellors. Giselde, Tetrarde, Hiltrude, shut up in a convent by Lewis Debonnaire. By his concubines he had Drogon bp. of Metz, Hugo or Hugues the abbot. Pepin the hump-backed, Rathilde, Gertrude. Writers of romance add the fair Emma, of whom they say the secretary Eginard and Charlemagne himself were enamoured.

2.

Lewis the Weak, born 778, emperor 814, died 840, June 20. His wives: Iremengarde, daughter of the count de Habsbanie. Judith, daughter of the count of Suabia. Children: Lotharius the emperor. Pepin king of Aquitain, died 838. Giselle wife to the count of Burgundy. Lewis king of Germany, died 876. Adelaide wife to a count of Burgundy. Alpaide wife to a count of Paris.

Charles

He is said to have introduced the custom of kissing the pope's feet.

Stephen IV. or V. 816.

Paschal I. 817. accused of having assassinated Theodorus the Dean, and obliged to purge himself by oath, before the commissaries of Lewis the emperor.

Eugenius II. 824. surnamed the Father of the Poor.

Valentine, 827.

Gregory IV. 828. who deceived Lewis the Weak.

Sergius

EMPERORS.

Charles the Bald, king of France and emperor.

3.

Lotharius I. born 796. Emp. 840. d. 855. Wife: Hermengarde daughter to the count de Thionville. Children: Lewis II. emperor. Lotharius king of Lorrain, died 868. Charles king of Burgundy. Hermengarde married to a duke upon the Moselle.

4.

Lewis II. born 825. Emperor 855, d. 875. August 13. Wife: Ingelbertha daughter of Lewis king of Germany. Children: Hermengarde married to Bozen king of Burgundy.

POPES.

Sergius II. 844. who caused himself to be consecrated without waiting for the emperor's permission, in order to establish the liberty of the Roman church.

Leo IV. 847. he saved Rome from the Mahometans by his vigilance and courage,

Benedict III. 855, created pope by the assistance of the Franks, in spite of the Roman people. In his time St. Peter's Penny was established in England.

Nicholas I. 858. In his time began the great schism between Constantinople and Rome.

Adrian II. 867. the first that caused the cross to be carried before him. The patriarch Photius excommunicated him by way of reprisal.

John VIII. 872. He acknowledged the patriarch Photius; was said

EMPERORS.

POPES.

said to be assassinated
with a hammer.

5.

Charles the Bald, born 823, Emp. 875, d. 877, Oct. 6. Wives: Hirmentrude daughter of Odo duke of Orleans, Richilda daughter of a Count de Bouvines. Children: Lewis the Stammerer. Charles killed in 866. Carloman deprived of his eyesight 873. Judith, first wife to Ethelred king of England, and afterwards married to Baldwin I. earl of Flanders.

6.

Lewis the Stammerer, born 843. Nov. 1. 878. d. 879. Ap. 10. Wives: Ansgarde, Aldelæide. Children: Lewis, Carloman, and Charles the Simple kings of France. Egisella married to Rollo or Raoul first duke of Normandy.

7.

Charles the Gross, Emperor 880. deposed 887. d. 888. without children.

Marinus, 882.

Adrian III. 884.

Stephen VI. 884. He forbade the trials by fire and water.

8.

Famosa,

EMPERORS.

8.

Arnolphus or *Arnoldus*, born 863. Emp. 887. d. 889. By his mistress Elengarde he had Lewis the Infant or Lewis IV. Emper. Zwentilbolde king of Lorrain. Rapolde, from whom are descended the counts d'Andeck and Tirol.

9.

Lewis IV. or *Lewis the Infant*, born 893. Emp. about 900. died 912. without posterity.

10.

Conrad I. Emp. 911. or 912. d. 918. Dec. 23. His wife: Cuni-gonda of Bavaria; by whom he had Arnolphus the Bad, from whom is descended the House of Bavaria.

11.

Henry the Fowler duke of

POPEs.

Famofa, 891.

Stephen VII. 896. son of a priest. He caused the body of his predecessor *Famofa* to be dug up, decapitated and thrown into the Tiber. He was afterwards put in prison and strangled.

John IX. 897. In his time the Mahometans landed in Calabria.

Benedict IV. 900.

Leo V. 904.

Sergius III. 905. a cruel man; the gallant of *Marofia*, daughter of the first *Theodora*, by whom he had pope *John XI.*

Anastafius, 913.

Lando, 914.

John X. 915. the gallant of the young *Theodora*, by whose means he ascended the papal chair, and by whom he had *Crescentius*, the first consul of that name. He was strangled in his bed.

Leo VI. 928.

Stephen

EMPERORS.

of Saxony, born 876.
 Emperor 919. d. 936.
 His Wives: Hatbourne
 daughter of a count of
 Mersbourg. Melchida
 daughter of a count of
 Ringelheim. His chil-
 dren: Tancard killed
 at Mersbourg 939. the
 emp. Otho the Great.
 Geberg married to Gi-
 selberg duke of Lorrain.
 Aduida married to Hu-
 gues count of Paris.
 Henry duke of Bavaria.
 Bruno bishop of Co-
 logn.

12.

Otho I. surnamed *the*
Great, born Nov. 22.
 916. Emperor 936. d.
 973, May 7. His Wives:
 Editha daughter of Ed-
 ward king of England.
 Aldelaide daughter of
 Rodolphus II. king of
 Burgundy. Children:
 Lutholf duke of Sua-
 bia. Luitgarde married
 to a duke of Lorrain
 and Franconia. *Otho*
II. surnamed *the Red*,
 emperor, Mathilda ab-
 bess of Quedlimbourg.
 Adelaide married to a
 marquis of Montferrat.
 Richilda

POPES.

Stephen VIII. 929.
 believed to be the son
 of Marofia, shut up in
 the castle which is now
 called St. Angelo.

John XI. 931, son
 of pope Sergius and
 Marofia, under whom
 his mother governed in
 a despotic manner.

Leo VII. 936.

Stephen IX. 939. a
 German by birth, slash-
 ed in the face by the
 Romans.

Marinus III. 943.

Agapetus, 946.

John XII. 956. son
 of Marofia and the pa-
 trician Albericus; him-
 self a patrician: elected
 pope at the age of 18:
 opposes the emperor
Otho I. assassinated in
 going to the house of
 his mistress.

Leo VIII. 663. elect-
 ed by a small council at
 Rome,

EMPERORS.

Richilda to a count of Eninguen. William archbishop of Mentz.

13.

Otho II. surnamed *the Red*, born 955. Emp. 973. died 983. Wife: *Theophania* daughter-in-law to the emperor *Nicephorus*. Children: *Otho* afterwards emperor. *Sophia* abbess of *Ganeheim*. *Mathilda* married to a count palatine. *Vithilda* a natural daughter married to a count of Holland.

14.

Otho III. born 973. Emp. 983. d. 1002: he is supposed to have married *Mary of Arragon*, died without posterity.

15.

POPES.

Rome, in consequence of *Otho's* orders.

Benedict V. 964. expelled immediately after his election, by the emperor *Otho I.* died in exile at *Hamburgh*.

John XIII. 965. expelled from Rome, and afterwards established.

Benedict VII. 972. strangled by the consul *Crescentius*, son of pope *John X.*

Boniface VII. 974. was inclined to deliver Rome to the emperors of the East.

Domus, 974.

Benedict VII. 975.

John XIV. 984. in the time of *Boniface VII.* he died in prison in the castle of *St. Angelo*.

Boniface VII. re-established, assassinated with a poignard.

John

EMPERORS.

POPES.

15.

Henry II. surnamed *the Saint, the Chaste, and the Lame*, duke of Bavaria, grandson of Otho the Great, Emp. 1002. d. 1024. Wife: Cunigonda daughter of Sigefroi count of Luxemburg, no posterity.

16.

Conrad II. the Salique, of the house of Franconia. Emp. 1024. died 1039, June 4. Wife: Giselle of Suabia. Children: Henry afterwards emperor. Beatrix abbess of Gandersheim. Judith, said to have been married to Azon d'Este in Italy.

John XV. or XVI. 986. expelled from Rome by the consul Crescentius, and re-established.

Gregory V. 996. by the nomination of the emperor Otho III.

Silvester II. 999. this is the famous Gerberg Auvergnac, archbishop of Rheims, a prodigy of learning in those days.

John XVII. 1003.

John XVIII. 1004.

Sergius IV. 1009. looked upon as an ornament of the church.

Benedict VIII. 1012. repulsed the Saracens.

John XIX. or XX. 1024. expelled and re-established.

Benedict IX. 1033. who purchased the third part of the pontificate and afterwards sold his share.

EMPERORS.

17.

Henry III. surnamed *the Black*, born Oct. 28. 1017. Emp. 1039. d. 1056. Wives: *Cunigonda* daughter of *Cnut* king of England. *Agnes* daughter of *William* duke of *Aquitain*. Children by his second wife: *Mathilda* married to *Rodolphus* duke of *Suabia*. The emperor *Henry IV.* *Conrad* duke of *Bavaria*. *Sophia* married to *Solomon* king of *Hungary*, and afterwards to *Uladislaus* king of *Poland*. *Itha* wife of *Leopold* marquis of *Austria*. *Adelaide* abbess of *Gandersheim*.

18.

Henry IV. born Nov. 11. 1050. Emp. 1056. d. 1106. Wives: *Bertha*, daughter of *Otho* *Savoy* called the marquis of *Italy*. *Adelaide* of *Russia*, widow of a margrave of *Brandenburg*. Children by *Bertha*: *Conrad*, duke of *Lorraine*. The emperor *Henry V.* *Agnes*, wife of

POPES.

Gregory VI. 1045. deposed.

Clement II. bishop of *Bamberg*, 1046, nominated by the emperor *Henry II.*

Damasus II. 1048. nominated by the emperor.

Leo IX. 1048. a virtuous pope.

Victor II. 1055. a great reformer, inspired and governed by *Hildebrand*, afterwards *Gregory VII.*

Stephen X. 1057. brother to *Godfrey* duke of *Lorraine*.

Nicholas II. exalted by force of arms 1056. expelled his competitor *Benedict I.* who subjected *Apuglia* and *Calabria* to the holy see.

Alexander II. elected by the faction of *Hildebrand*, without the consent

EMPERORS.

of Frederick of Suabia. Bertha married to a duke of Carinthia. Adelaide married to Boleslaus III. king of Poland. Sophia to Godfrey duke of Brabant.

19.

Henry V. born 1081. Emp. 1106. died 1125, May 23. Wife: Matilda daughter of Henry I. king of England. Children: Christina wife of Ladislaus duke of Silesia.

20.

Lotharius II. duke of Saxony,

POPEs.

sent of the imperial court 1061. In his time happened the astonishing adventure of the experiment of the stone Igneus, whether true, false, or exaggerated.

Gregory VII. 1078. this is the famous Hildebrand, the first pope who rendered the Roman church so formidable. He was the victim of his own zeal.

Victor III. 1086. recommended by Gregory VII. at his death.

Urban II. native of Chatillon sur Maine, 1087. published the crusades contrived by his predecessor.

Paschal II. 1099. followed the footsteps of Gregory VII.

Gelasius II. 1118. dragged to prison by the opposite faction.

Calixtus III. 1119. finished the great process of the investitures.

Honorius II. 1124.

Innocent II. 1130. almost

EMPERORS.

Saxony, Emp. 1125. died 1137. Wife: Richeze daughter of Henry the Gröfs, duke of Saxony.

21.

Conrad III. born 1092. Emp. 1138. d. 1152, Feb. 15. Wife: Gertrude daughter of a count of Sultzbach. Children: Henry died under age. Frederick count of Rothenbourg.

22.

Frederic I. surnamed *Barbarossa*, duke of Suabia, born 1121. Emp. 1152. d. 1190. Wives: Adelaide daughter of the marquis of Vohenburg, repudiated. Beatrix daughter of Renauld count of Burgundy. Children: Henry afterwards emperor. Frederic duke of Suabia. Conrad duke of Spoleto. Philip afterwards emperor. Otho count of Burgundy. Sophia married to the marquis of Montferrat. Beatrix, abbess of Quedlimbourg.

23.

POPEs. &

almost all the elections were double in this age, and the popes were not masters of Rome.

Celestinus II. 1143.

Lucius II. 1144. killed by a stone, fighting against the Romans.

Eugenius III. 1145. maltreated by the Romans, takes refuge in France.

Anastasius IV. 1153.

Adrian IV. 1154. an Englishman, son of a mendicant, himself a mendicant, becomes a great man.

Alexander III. 1159. humbles the emperor Frederic Barbarossa and Henry II. king of England,

Lucius III. 1181. expelled and pursued by the Romans, who, in receiving the bishop, would not acknowledge the prince.

Urban III. 1185.

Gregory VIII. 1187. passes for a learned, eloquent and honest man

Clemen

EMPERORS,

POPES.

23.

Henry VI. born 1165. Emp. 1190. died 1197. Wife : Constance daughter of Roger king of Sicily. Children : Frederic, afterwards emperor. Mary wife of Conrad marquis of Mahren.

24.

Philip duke of Suabia, youngest son of Frederic. Barbarossa, guardian of Frederic II. born 1181. Emp. 1198. died June 21, 1208. Wife : Irene daughter of Isaac emperor of Constantinople. Children : Beatrix wife of Ferdinand III. king of Castile. Cunigonda married to Winceflaus III. king of Bohemia. Mary wife of Henry duke of Brabant. Beatrix died immediately after her marriage with Otho IV. duke of Brunswick, afterwards emperor.

25.

Clement III. 1188. endeavours to reform the clergy.

Celestinus III. 1191. forbade the emperor Henry VI. to be buried.

Innocent III. 1198. laid France under interdiction. In his time was the crusade against the Albigenes.

Honorius

EMPERORS.

POPES.

25.

Otho IV. duke of Brunſwick, Emp. 1198. d. 1218. Second wife: Mary daughter of Henry the Virtuous duke of Brabant, died without poſterity.

26.

Frederick II. duke of Suabia, king of the two Sicilies, born Dec. 26, 1193. Emp. 1212. died 1250, Dec. 13. Wives: Conſtance daughter of Alphonſus II. king of Arragon. Violenta daughter of John de Brienne king of Jeruſalem. Iſabella daughter of John king of England. Children: Henry king of the Romans died in priſon 1236. Conrad afterwards emperor, father of Conradin in whom the houſe of Suabia was extinct. Henry governor of Sicily. Margaret wife of Albret the Depraved, landgrave of Thuringia and marquis of Miſnia. By his miſtreſſes he had Enzio king of Sardinia. Manfred

Honorius III. 1216. began to thwart Frederick II.

Gregory IX. 1227. expelled by the Romans, excommunicated and thought to depoſe Frederick II.

Celeſtinus IV. 1241.

Innocent IV. 1243. excommunicated Frederick II. and thought to depoſe him at the council of Lion.

Alexander

EMPERORS.

fredo king of Sicily,
Frederick prince of An-
tioch.

27.

Conrad IV. Emperor
1250. d. 1254. Wife:
Elizabeth daughter of
Otho, count Palatine.
His son *Conradin* duke
of Suabia, heir to the
kingdom of Sicily,
whom Charles of An-
jou caused to be deca-
pitated at the age of 27;
Oct. 19, 1268.

(*Alphonfus X.* king
of Spain, and *Richard*
duke of Cornwall, son
of Lackland, were both
elected in 1257, but are
not reckoned among
the emperors.)

28.

Rodolphus, count of
Hapsbourg in Switzer-
land; ancestor of the
house of Austria, born
1218. Emp. 1273. d.
1291. Wives: Anne
Gertrude of Bohen-
berg. Agnes daughter
of Otho count of Bur-
gundy. Children: Al-
bert duke of Austria, af-
terward emperor. Ro-
dolphus supposed to
have

POPES.

Alexander IV. 1245.
who protected the men-
dicant monks against
the university of Paris.

Urban IV. 1261. was
at first a cobbler at Troye
in Champagne; and the
first who called Charles
of Anjou to Naples.

Clement IV. 1264:
It is pretended that he
advised the murder of
Conradin and the duke
of Austria, by the hand
of the hangman.

Gregory X. 1271. he
established several laws
for holding of the con-
claves.

Innocent V. 1276.

Adrian V. 1276.

John XXI. 1276.
was said to be a good
physician.

Nicholas III. 1277.
of the house of Ursini.
Before his death he is
said to have advised the
Sicilian

EMPERORS.

have been duke of Suabia. Herman drowned in the Rhine at the age of 18. Frederic who died without issue. Charles who died under age. Rodolphus who died in his infancy. Mechtilda married to Lewis the Severe, duke of Bavaria. Agnes who married Albert II. duke of Saxony. Hedwige wife of Otho marquis of Brandenburg. Gutha married to Wincellaus king of Bohemia, son of Ottocarus. Clemence married to Charles Martel king of Hungary, grandson of Charles I. king of Naples and Sicily. Margaret wife of Theodoric count of Cleves. Catharine married to Otho duke of Lower Bavaria son of Henry brother to Lewis the Severe, and Euphemia a nun.

29.

Adolphus of Nassau, Emperor 1292. d. 1298, July 2. Wife: Imagina daughter of Jorlach count

POPES.

Sicilian vespers.

Martin IV. 1281. as soon as he was pope, he caused himself to be elected senator of Rome that his authority might be the greater.

Honorius IV. 1285. of the house of Savilli: espoused the French party in Sicily.

Nicholas IV. 1288. in his time the Christians were entirely expelled from Syria.

Celestinus V. 1292. *Benedictus Caietanus* persuaded him to abdicate.

C

Pope

EMPERORS.

count of Limbourg. Children: Henry who died young. Robert of Nassau. Jorlach of Nassau. Valdrame Adolpha. Adelaide. Imagina. Mathilda Philippa.

30.

Albert I. of Austria, Emp. 1298. d. 1308. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Menard duke of Carinthia and count of Tirol. Children: Frederic the Beau afterwards emperor. Albert the Wise duke of Austria.

31.

Henry VII. of the house of Luxembourg. Emp. 1308. d. 1313. Wives: Margaret daughter of a duke of Brabant. Catharine daughter of Albert of Austria, only betrothed before his death. Children: John king of Bohemia.

32.

Lewis V. of Bavaria, Emp.

POPES.

Boniface VIII. (Benedictus Caietanus) 1294. confined his predecessor: excommunicated Philip the Fair: assumed the title of Master of all kings: caused two swords to be carried before him: put two crowns on his head, and instituted the Jubilee.

Clement V. (Bertrand de Gott) native of Bourdeaux, 1305: persecuted the Templars: all sorts of benefices are said to have been sold at his court.

John XXII. 1316. son of

EMPERORS.

Emp. 1314. d. 1347. Wives: Beatrix of Glaugau. Margaret countess of Holland. Children: Lewis the Ancient, margrave of Brandenburg. Stephen the Curled, duke of Bavaria. Mechtilda wife of Frederic the Severe, marquis of Misnia. Elizabeth married to John duke of Lower Bavaria. William count of Holland by his mother, grew mad. Albert count of Holland. Lewis the Roman, marquis of Brandenburg. Otho marquis of Brandenburg.

33.

Charles IV. of the house of Luxembourg, born 1316. Emp. 1347. d. 1378. Wives: Blanche de Valois. Anne Palatine. Anne of Silesia. Elizabeth of Pomerania. Children: Winceslaus afterwards emperor. Sigismund afterwards emp. John marq. of Brandenburg.

34.

POPEs.

of a cobbler of Cahors, called d'Eus, who is reckoned to have sold a greater number of benefices than his predecessor, and who had great credit in Europe, without having any at Rome. He always resided near the Rhone: wrote upon the philosopher's stone, but really had it in ready money: It was he who added a third crown to the Tiara.

Benedict XII. (Jacques Fournier) 1334. resided at Avignon.

Clement VI. (Pierre Roger) 1342. resided at Avignon, which he bought of queen Jane.

Innocent VI. (Stephen Aubert) 1352. resided at Avignon.

Urban V. (William Grimaud) 1352. resided at Avignon: made a journey to Rome, where, however, he durst not settle.

Gregory XI. (Roger de Momon) 1370. transferred the holy see

C 2

to

EMPERORS,

POPES.

34.

Winceflaus, born 1361. Emp. 1368. deposed 1400. d. 1419. Wives: Jane and Sophia of the house of Bavaria; no posterity.

35.

Robert Count Palatine of the Rhine, Emp. 1400. d. 1410. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of a burgrave of Nuremberg. Children: Robert, who died before his father. Lewis the Bearded and Blind, Elector. Frederic count of Namberg. Elizabeth married to a duke of Austria. Agnes to a count of Cleves. Margaret to a duke of Lorraine. John Count Palatine Zimmeren.

36.

Jodocus marquis of Brandenburg and Moravia, Emp. 1410. died three months after.

37.

Sigismund brother to *Winceflaus*, born 1368. Emp.

to Rome again, where he was received as lord of the city.

A great schism begins in 1378. between Prignano, Urban VI. and Robert of Geneva, Clement VII. This schism continues from competitor to competitor to 1417.

Martin V. (Colonna) 1417. elected by the council

EMPERORS.

Emp. 1411. d. 1437. Wives: Mary heiress of Hungary and Bohemia. Barba countess of Sille. Children: Elizabeth daughter of Mary heiress of Hungary and Bohemia, married to the emperor Albert II. of Austria.

38.

Albert II. of Austria, born 1399. Emp. 1438. d. 1439. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Sigismund, heiress of Bohemia and Hungary. Children: George who died young. Anne married to a duke of Saxony. Elizabeth to a prince of Poland. Ladislaus Posthumus king of Bohemia and Hungary.

39.

Frederick of Austria, born 1415. Emp. 1440. d. 1493. Wife: Eleonora daughter of the king of Portugal. Children: Maximilian afterwards emperor. Cunigunda married to a duke of Bavaria.

POPES.

council of Constance: pacified Rome, and recovered a great many dominions to the holy see.

Eugene IV. (Gondelmore) 1431. supposed son of Gregory XII. one of the popes of the great schism: triumphed over the council of Basil, which deposed him in vain.

Nicholas V. (Sarzanè) 1447. made the concordat with the empire.

Calixtus III. (Borgia) 1455. the first who sent gallies against the Ottomans.

C 2

Pius

EMPERORS.

POPES.

Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini) 1458. during the council of Basil, he wrote against the power of the holy see, and retracted when he became pope.

Paul II. (Barbo a Venetian) 1464. augmented the number and honours of cardinals : instituted public games, and the Minim friars.

Sixtus IV. (de la Rovere) 1471. encouraged the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medicis : repaired the bridge of Antoninus, and laid a tax upon courtezans.

Innocent VIII. (Cibo) 1484. married before he was a priest, and had a number of children.

40.

Maximilian I. of Austria, born 1459, king of the Romans 1486, Emp. 1493. d. 1519, Jan. 12. Wives: Mary heiress of Burgundy, and the Low Countries. Blanche Maria Sforza. Children: Philip the Beau of Austria king of Spain by his wife.

Alexander VI. (Borgia) 1491. his mistress Vanosia, his daughter Lucretia, his son the duke of Valentinois, are very well known, as well as the means he used to aggrandize that son, which redounded to the advantage of the holy see.

EMPERORS.

Francis died in the cradle. Margaret promised to Charles VIII. king of France, governante of the Low Countries, married to John son of Ferdinand king of Spain, and afterwards to Philibert duke of Savoy. He had no children by Blanche Sforza, but he had six bastards by his concubines.

41.

Charles V. born Feb. 24, 1500, king of Spain 1516, Emperor 1519, abdicated June 2, 1556. d. Sept. 21, 1558. Wife: Isabella daughter of Emanuel king of Portugal. Children: Philip II. king of Spain. Naples and Sicily, duke of Milan, sovereign of the Low Countries. Jane married to John infant of Portu-

POPES.

Pius III. (Piccolomini) 1503. in electing this man, they deceived cardinal d'Amboise, prime minister of France, who thought himself secure of the Tiara.

Julius II. (de la Rovere) 1503. augmented the ecclesiastical state, and was a warrior who wanted nothing but an army.

Leo X. (Medicis) 1513. a lover of the arts; magnificent and voluptuous; under him the Christian religion was divided into several sects.

Adrian VI. (Florentius Boysen of Utrecht) 1521. preceptor to Charles V. hated by the Romans, because a stranger. At his death was found written on his physician's door, "To the deliverer of his country."

Clement VII. (Medicis) 1523. in his time Rome was sacked and England detached itself

EMPERORS.

Portugal. Mary wife of the emperor Maximilian II. his own cousin. Bastards known: Don John of Austria, famous in war; and Margaret of Austria, married to Alexander duke of Florence, and afterwards to Octavius duke of Parma. These two children are supposed to have been born of a princess very nearly related to Charles V.

42.

Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V. born March 10, 1503. king of the Romans 1531: Emp. 1556. died July

25,

POPES.

self from the Roman church.

Paul II. (Farnese) 1534. gave Parma and Placentia to his bastard; and this was the cause of much trouble. He believed in judicial astrology, more than all the princes of his time.

Julius III. (Ghiocchi) 1550. It was he who made a cardinal of his ape-bearer, whom they called cardinal Simia. He is said to have been a great voluptuary.

Marcellus II. (Cervin) 1555. his exaltation lasted but twelve days.

Paul IV. (Caraffa) 1555. elected after the age of fourscore: his nephews governed every thing. The inquisition was violent at Rome, and after his death the people burned the prisons of that tribunal.

Pius IV. (Medequino) 1559. caused Caraffa, nephew to his predecessor, to be strangled: nepotism prevailed

ed

EMPERORS.

25, 1564. Wife: Anne
sister of Lewis king of
Hungary and Bohemia.
By her he had fifteen
children: Maximilian
afterwardsemp. E-
lizabeth married to Si-
gismundAugustus king
of Poland. Anne to
the duke of Bavaria
Albert V. Mary to
William duke of Ju-
liers. Magdalen a nun.
Catharine first married
to Francis duke of
Mantua, and after-
wards to Sigismund Au-
gustus king of Poland,
after her sister's death.
Eleonora married to
William duke of Man-
tua. Margaret a nun.
Barba married to Al-
phonfus II. duke of
Ferrara. Helen a nun.
Jane, wife of Francis
duke of Florence. Fer-
dinand duke of Tyrol.
Charles duke of Sicilia.
Jane and Ursula died
in their infancy.

43.

Maximilian II. of Au-
stria, b. Aug. 1. 1527.
Emp. 1564. d. Oct. 12,
1576. Wife: Mary
daughter

POPES.

ed as much under him,
as under Paul IV.

Pius V. (Gisleri Do-
minican) 1566. caused
Zoannetti Carnefeccli
and Palearius to be
C 5 burnt;

EMPERORS.

daughter of Charles V. by whom he had fifteen children : Rodolphus afterwards emperor. Ernestus archduke. Matthias afterwards emperor. Maximilian archduke. Albert who married the Infanta Clara Eugenia. Wincesslaus who died at the age of seventeen. Anne wife of Philip II. king of Spain. Elizabeth wife of Charles IX. king of France. Margaret a nun and six children that died in the cradle.

44.

Rodolphus II. born July 18, 1552. Emp. 1576. d. 1612, Jan. 10. unmarried, though he had five ~~natural~~ children.

POPES.

burnt; had great quarrels with Queen Elizabeth.

Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagno) 1572. the first year of his pontificate is famous for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, for which two bonfires were made at Rome. He gave to James Buoncompagno, his bastard, abundance of wealth and dignities, but he did not dismember the ecclesiastical state in his favour.

Sixtus V. son of a poor husbandman called Peretti, 1585. finished the church of St. Peter; embellished Rome; and in the space of five years that he governed, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo.

Urban VII. (Castagna) 1590.

Gregory XIV. (Sfondrat) 1590. sent assistance to the league in France.

EMPERORS.

POPES.

Innocent XI. (Santi-quarto) 1591.

Clement VIII. (Aldo-brandio) 1592. He gave absolution and discipline to Henry IV. king of France, on the backs of the cardinals Du Perron and d'Osat; and seized upon the duchy of Ferrara.

Paul V. (Borghese) 1605. excommunicated Venice, and afterwards repented of what he had done; built the palace of Borghese, and embellished the city of Rome.

45.

Matthias, brother of Rodolphus, born 1557, Feb. 24. Emp. 1612, died 1619, March 20. Wife: Anne daughter of Ferdinand of Tyrol, died without posterity.

46.

Ferdinand II. son of Charles archduke of Stiria and Carinthia and grandson of the emperor Ferdinand I. born. July 9, 1578. Emp. 1619. d. 1637, Feb. 15. Wives; Marry Anne daughter

Gregory XV. (Ludovisio) 1621. helped to pacify the troubles of the Valteline.

Urban VIII. (Barberino) a Florentine, 1623. passed for a good Latin poet. His nephew

EMPERORS.

daughter of William duke of Bavaria. Eleonora daughter of Vincent duke of Mantua. Children by Anne: John Charles died at fourteen. Ferdinand afterwards emperor. Mary Anne wife of Maximilian duke of Bavaria. Cecilia Renee married to Uladislaus king of Poland. Leopold William who possessed several bishopricks. Christina who died young.

47.

Ferdinand III. born July 13, 1608. Emp. 1637. d. 1657. Wives: Mary Anne daughter of Philip III. king of Spain. Mary Leopoldina daughter of Leopold archduke of Tyrol. Eleonora daughter of Charles II. duke of Mantua. Children: Ferdinand king of the Romans died at the age of twenty-one. Mary Anne wife of Philip IV. king of Spain. Philip Augustin and Maximilian Thomas who died in their in-

POPES.

phew governed, and made war upon the duke of Parma.

Innocent X. (Pamphili) 1644, his pontificate was a long time governed by his sister-in-law Dona Olympia.

Alexander VII. (Chi-gi) 1655. made new embellishments in Rome.

Clement

EMPERORS.

fancy. Leopold afterwards emperor. Mary died in the cradle. Charles Joseph bishop of Passau. Teresa Maria died young. Eleonora Maria who being widow of Michael king of Poland, married Charles duke of Lorraine. Mary Anne wife of the Elector Palatine. Ferdinand Joseph died in his infancy.

48.

Leopold, born 1640, June 9. Emp. 1658. d. May 5, 1705. Wives: Margaret Teresa daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. Claudia Felicitas daughter of Ferdinand Charles duke of Tyrol. Eleonora Magdalena daughter of Philip William Count Palatine duke of Neubourg. Children by Margaret Teresa. Ferdinand Winceslaus died in the cradle. Mary Antonietta wife of Maximilian Mary elector of Bavaria. Three other daughters who died in their infancy.

Children

POPES.

Clement IX. (Rospiolosi) 1667. was desirous of putting the finances of Rome in order.

Clement X. (Altieri) 1670. in his time began the quarrel of the Regale in France.

Innocent XI. (Odescalchi) 1676. was always an enemy to Lewis XIV. espoused the party of the emperor Leopold.

Alexander VIII. (Otoboni) 1689.

Innocent XII. (Pignatelli) 1691. advised Charles II king of Spain to make his will in

EMPERORS.

Children by Eleonora Magdalen of Neuburg: Joseph afterwards emperor. Mary Elizabeth governante of the Low Countries. Leopold Joseph who died in his infancy. Mary Anne wife of John V. king of Portugal. Mary Theresa died at twelve years of age. Charles afterwards emperor, and three daughters who died young.

POPES.

in favour of the house of Bourbon.

Clement XI. (Albano) 1700. was obliged against his will to acknowledge Charles VI. as king of Spain.

EMPERORS.

49.

Joseph, born July 26, 1678. king of the Romans 1690, at twelve years of age. Emp. 1705. d. 1711, April 17. Wife: Amelia daughter of John Frederic duke of Hanover. Children: Mary Josephina married to Frederic Augustus king of Poland, elector of Saxony. Leopold Joseph who died in the cradle. Mary Amelia married to the electoral prince of Bavaria.

50.

Charles VI. born Oct. 1, 1685. Emp. 1711. d. 1740. Wife: Elizabeth Christina daughter of Lewis Rodolphus duke of Brunswick. Children: Leopold who died in his infancy. Mary Theresa who married Francis of Lorraine, Feb. 12, 1736. Mary Anne married to Charles of Lorraine. Mary Amelia died in her infancy. Charles VI. was the last prince of the house of Austria.

A N N A L S
OF THE
E M P I R E
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

INTRODUCTION.

OF all the revolutions which have changed the face of the earth, that alone, which transferred the empire of the Romans to Charlemagne, seems to have been just, if the word *just* may be pronounced of events which partook so much of violence. Charlemagne was actually called to the empire by the voice of the Roman people, whom he had at once saved from the tyranny of the Lombards, and the negligence of the eastern emperors.

This is the great epocha of the western nations; at this time a new order of government began, the foundation of the temporal power of the church; for no bishop in the East had ever been a prince, or possessed any of the rights of royalty. This new Roman empire bore no
resemblance

resemblance to that of the first Cæsars. In these annals will be seen the true nature of this empire, how the Roman pontiffs acquired that temporal power, with which they have been so much reproached; how so many western bishops, especially those of Germany, erected themselves into sovereigns; and in what manner the Roman people struggled to preserve their liberty between the emperors and popes, who disputed with one another the dominion of Rome.

All the West, since the fifth century, was either barbarous or desolate; so many nations, formerly subdued by the ancient Romans, had at least lived till the fifth century in a state of happy subjection. It is a singular example in all ages, that conquerors should have built for the conquered those vast baths, amphitheatres, and highways, which no nation since those times hath even presumed to imitate; there was in effect but one people; the Latin language, in the time of Theodosius, was spoke from Cadiz to the Euphrates; trade was carried on from Rome to Triers and Alexandria with more ease than many provinces now find in trafficking with their next neighbours; even the tributes, though burthensome, were much less intolerable than since that time, when the people are obliged to pay for the luxury, and undergo the violence of so many particular masters. Let us only compare the state of Paris, while governed by Julian the Philosopher, with its situation an hundred and fifty years after. Let us consider Triers the largest city of the Gauls, in the time of Theodosius, when it was called a second Rome, and then observe the

the state of that city after the inundation of the Barbarians. Autun under Constantine contained five and twenty thousand masters of families; Arles was still more populous. The Barbarians brought along with them devastation, poverty, and ignorance. The Franks were of the number of those famished and ferocious people, who ran to the pillage of the empire. They subsisted upon rapine and theft, although the country in which they settled was very fair and fertile. They did not know how to cultivate the lands. That country is marked in an ancient carte still preserved at Venice. There we see the Franks settled from the mouth of the Maine as far as Friseland, and in part of Westphalia, the *Franci seu Chamavi*. It is by means of the ancient Romans, and them only, that we have a distinct notion of our own origin. The Franks then were part of those people called Saxons, who inhabited Westphalia; and when Charlemagne made war upon them three hundred years after, he exterminated the descendants of his own ancestors.

Those tribes of Franks, of which the Salians were the most illustrious, established themselves gradually in Gaul, not as allies of the Roman people, as generally supposed, but after having plundered the Roman colonies, Triers, Cologne, Mentz, Tongres, Tournay, Cambrai; defeated indeed by Aëtius, one of the last supports of the Roman grandeur, but afterwards united with him, through necessity, against Attila; then taking the advantage of the anarchy to which those irruptions of the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards and Burgundines reduced the empire, they used against the
emperors

emperors themselves the rights and titles of masters of the militia, and the patriciate, which they had received from them. This empire was torn into shreds, and every horde of those fierce savages seized upon part as its own prey. One incontestible proof that those people were a long time in a state of barbarity, is, that they destroyed a great number of cities, and found none.

All these dominions were of small importance till the end of the eighth century before the power of the caliphs, which threatened the whole earth.

The first successors of Mahomet possessed the right of the throne and the altar, of the sword and of enthusiasm; their orders were so many oracles; their soldiers so many fanatics. In the year 651, they besieged Constantinople, destined to be one day Mussulman. The inevitable divisions among so many new chiefs, of so many peoples and armies, did not interfere with their conquests; the Mahometans, in that particular, resembled the ancient Romans, who subdued Asia Minor and the Gauls, even in the midst of their civil wars.

In 711, we see them passing from Egypt into Spain, which was easily subdued * successively by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals, and at last by those Arabs called Moors, who there established the kingdom of Cordova. The sultan of Egypt, indeed shook

* Spain was far from being easily subdued. The learned author of the *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus* justly observes, that the Romans fought more battles for the possession of Spain alone, than the greatest conquerors on record did for the utmost extent of their dominion.

INTRODUCTION. 43

off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdat ; and Abderame, governor of conquered Spain, no longer acknowledged the sultan of Egypt : nevertheless, every thing yielded to the arms of the Mussulmans.

This Abderame, grandson of the caliph Hetham, takes the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Arragon ; makes a settlement in Languedoc ; conquers Guienne and Poitou ; and, if Charles Martel had not deprived him of his conquests and his life, France would have been a Mahometan province.

As the Mahometans increased in power, they improved in politeness. Those caliphs who were always acknowledged as the sovereigns of religion by such as received their orders from afar, finding themselves at their ease in their new Babylon, revived the arts in that capital.

Aaron Rachild, cotemporary with Charlemagne, more illustrious than his predecessors, who caused himself to be respected even in Spain and at the river Indus, reanimated all the sciences, cultivated the agreeable and useful arts, invited and encouraged learned men, and saw politeness succeed barbarity through his vast dominions. Under him the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian cyphers, carried them into Europe. The first rudiments of astronomy known in Germany and France, were learned from the Arabians ; the word *Almanac* is still a proof of this assertion. In a word, during the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West were obliged to go and take instructions from the Mussulmans.

The more Mahomet's empire flourished, the more Constantinople and Rome were abased.

Rome

Rome had never recovered that fatal stroke she received from Constantine, in his removing the seat of empire: the Romans were no longer animated by glory and patriotism. The inhabitants of that ancient capital had nothing more to hope from fortune. Courage became enervated, the arts sunk into oblivion, and nothing was now seen in the abodes of the Scipios and Cæsars, but contests between the secular judges and the bishop. Taken, retaken, and sacked so often by the Barbarians, Rome still obeyed the emperors. After Justinian, a viceroy governed it under the name of Exarch; but he no longer deigned to look upon it as the capital of Italy. He resided at Ravenna, and from thence sent his orders to the prefect of Rome. The emperors had nothing now remaining in Italy, but the country that extends from the boundaries of Tuscany to the extremities of Calabria. The Lombards were in possession of Piedmont, the Milanese, Mantua, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Bologna: these dominions composed the kingdom of Lombardy. Those Lombards are said to have come from Pannonia, where they had embraced Arianism, which was the prevailing religion. Having penetrated into Italy by Tyrol, there they settled, and confirmed their dominion by submitting to the Catholic religion. Rome, whose walls were demolished, and who had no other defence but the troops of the exarch, was often menaced with subjection to the power of the Lombards. It was then so poor, that the annual imposition levied by the exarch, amounted to no more than a golden sol from every master of a family; and even this was a burdensome

denfome tax. It was like thofe barren and remote lands which are a charge to the owners.

The Roman diurnal of the feventh and eighth centuries, a precious monument, part of which is printed, fhews, in the moft authentic manner, what the foverèign pontif was in thofe days. He was called The Vicar of Peter, Bifhop of the City of Rome, as foon as he was elected by the citizens; the clergy in a body intimated his election to the exarch, in this form: "We intreat you, who are charged with the imperial miniftry, to order the confecration of our father and paftor." They likewise communicated the news of the election to the metropolitan of Ravenna in thefe words: "St. Peter, we befeech thy holinefs to obtain of our lord the exarch the ordination now depending." They were alfo obliged to fend an account of it to the judges of Ravenna, whom they ftyled Your Eminences.

At that time the new pope, before his ordination, was obliged to pronounce two confeffions of faith; and in the fecond he condemned among the heretics pope Honorius I. becaufe, at Conftantinople, the faid Honorius bifhop of Rome was fupposed to have acknowledged but one will in Jefus Chrift.

There is a great diftance from this to the Tiara; but there is likewise a great difference between the firft monk who preached on the banks of the Rhine and the electoral cap; as alfo between the firft chief of the wandering Salians and a Roman emperor. All greatnefs formed gradually, and the origin of every thing is fmall and inconfiderable.

The pontif of Rome established his greatness insensibly, during the abasement of the city: the Romans were poor, but the church was not. Constantine had given, to the basilique of the Lateran only, above a thousand marks of gold, and above thirty thousand of silver, and assigned to it fourteen thousand sols,* yearly revenue. The popes, who fed the poor, and sent missions through all the West, having had occasion for more considerable supplies, had obtained them without difficulty. The emperors, and even the Lombard kings, had granted them lands; and they possessed, in the neighbourhood of Rome, certain revenues and castles called The Justices of St. Peter. Several citizens eagerly strove to enrich, by donation or will, a church whose bishop was looked upon as the father of their country. The credit of the popes was greatly superior to their wealth. It was impossible to fail, in point of veneration, for an almost uninterrupted succession of pontiffs, who had consoled the church, extended religion, and softened the manners of the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Franks*.

Although

* It is paying too great a compliment to the Roman Catholic religion to ascribe these blessings to a succession of popes, who embroiled all Christendom with intrigues, excited rebellions, dethroned kings, denounced damnation, tyrannized over conscience, preached up war, implacable hatred, and persecution; armed one half of the world against their fellow-creatures; filled the nations of the earth with massacre, blood, and desolation; and in their own personal conduct displayed the most shocking composition of perfidy, cruelty, profligacy, and superstition. The barbarous nations were civilized by the gradual improvement

INTRODUCTION. 47

Although the Roman pontiffs, in the time of the exarches, extended their right of metropolitan no farther than the *suburbuary towns*, that is, over the towns subjected to the government of the prefect of Rome; nevertheless, they were often dignified with the appellation of Universal Pope, on account of the primacy and dignity of their see. Gregory the Great refused that title, which however he merited by his virtues; and his successors extended their credit in the West; therefore we ought not to be surpris'd to find in the eighth century Boniface archbishop of Mentz, the same who consecrated Pepin, express himself thus in the form of his oath: "I promise to St. Peter, and his vicar Gregory the Happy," &c.

At length, in process of time, the popes formed a design of delivering Rome at once from the Lombards, by whom it was incessantly threatened, and the Greek emperors, by whom it was so ill defended. The popes at that time perceived that which at other conjunctures would have been no other than a revolt or impotent sedition, might now become a revolution excusable from necessity, and respectable through success. This is the revolution which was begun under Pepin II. usurper of the throne of France, and completed by his son Charlemagne, at the time when every thing was in confusion, and the face of Europe must have necessarily been changed.

ment and cultivation of the human understanding, which the Roman pontiffs in general prevented to the utmost of their power, well knowing that ignorance was the mother of devotion.

48 CHARLEMAGNE.

The kingdom of France at that time extended from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, the Maine and the Sala. Bavaria depended upon this vast kingdom. It was the king of France who bestowed that duchy when he was strong enough to give it away. This kingdom of the Franks, which had been almost always divided since the time of Clovis, and torn by intestine wars, was nothing but a vast, barbarous province of the ancient Roman empire, which Constantinople always reckoned among the rebellious states, though she treated with it as a powerful kingdom,

CHARLEMAGNE.

742.

CHARLEMAGNE, born April 10, near Aix-la-Chapelle, was the son of Pepin, mayor of the palace, duke of the Franks, and grandson of Charles Martel. All that we know of his mother, is, that her name was Bertha; but we are not even precisely acquainted with the place of his birth. He was born during the session of the council of Germany, tho', thanks to the ignorance of those times, we know not where that famous council was held.

One half of the country, which is now called Germany, was idolatrous, from the banks of the Weser, and even of the Maine and Rhine, to the Baltrick, and the other half Christians.

There were already bishops at Triers, Cologne, and Mentz, frontier cities, founded by the Romans, and instructed by the popes; but that country was then called Austrasia, and belonged to the kingdom of the Franks.

One

One Villebrod*, an Englishman, had, in the time of Charles Martel's father, gone to preach to the idolaters of Friesland what little Christianity he knew. There was, towards the end of the seventh century, a titular bishop of Westphalia who raised little children from the dead. Villebrod took the vain title of Bishop of Utrecht; and there he built a small church, which was destroyed by the pagan Frielanders. At length, in the beginning of the eighth century, another Englishman, known afterwards by the name of Boniface†, went and preached in Germany, and was looked upon as an apostle. The English were at that time the preceptors of the Germans; and it was to the popes that all those people, as well as the Gauls, owed the little learning and Christianity which they knew.

743.

A synod at Lestine in Hainault serves to shew the manners of those times. There it was regulated, that those who had taken the effects of the church, in order to maintain a war, should give a crown to the church by way of farm. This regulation regarded the officers of Charles Martel and his son Pepin, who enjoyed during life the abbey they had seized. It was then equally usual to endow monks, and to deprive them their endowments.

Boniface, that apostle of Germany, founded the abbey of Fuld in the county of Hesse. At

* Villebrod was a native of Northumberland, educated in the monastery of Rippon, who afterwards prosecuted his theological studies in Ireland, at that time famous for the most learned and pious professors of the true faith.

† This was Wilfred who had assisted Wilbrod in his apostolical labours in Friesland.

first it was no more than a church covered with thatch and surrounded with cabbins, inhabited by some monks, who grubbed an ungrateful soil. It is now a principality; and no man can be a monk, unless he is a gentleman: the abbot has been long a sovereign, and since the year 1753 a bishop.

744.

Carloman, uncle of Charlemagne, duke of Austrasia, reduces the Bavarian vassals, who were in rebellion against the king of France, and defeats the Saxons, of whom he wants to make vassals also.

745.

At this time Boniface was bishop of Mentz. The dignity of metropolitan, hitherto attached to the see of Worms, is transferred to Mentz.

Carloman, brother of Pepin, abdicates the duchy of Austrasia: it was a powerful realm, which he governed under the name of Mayor of the Palace, while his brother Pepin ruled in western France; and Childrick king of all France could scarce command the servants of his own family. Carloman renounces his sovereignty to go and turn monk at Montecassini.

Historians still affirm that Pepin loved him tenderly; but, in all probability, he loved better to rule alone. The cloister was then the asylum of those who had too powerful competitors in the world.

747.

748.

In most towns of France they renew the custom of the ancient Romans, known under the name of Patronage, or Clientship. The citizens chose patrons among the noblemen; and this circumstance alone proves that the people
in

CHARLEMAGNE. 51

in Gaul were not divided, as it is pretended they were, into masters and slaves.

749.

Pepin at length undertakes what his father Charles Martel could not perform. He resolves to deprive the Merovean race of the crown; and the first step he takes is to gain the apostle Boniface over to his party, together with several bishops, and at last pope Zacharias himself.

750.

Pepin causes his king Hilderic or Childeric III. to be deposed and made a monk at St. Bertin, and sets himself on the throne of the Franks.

751.

Pepin resolves to subdue the people then called Saxons, extending from the neighbourhood of the Main to the Cimbric Chersonesus, who had already conquered England*. Pope Stephen III. demands the protection of Pepin against Luitprand king of Lombardy, who wanted to make himself master of Rome. The emperor of Constantinople was too remote and too weak to succour him; and the first domestic of the king of France, now become usurper, was the only person who could give him protection.

754.

The first known action of Charlemagne was, to go, by order of his father Pepin, and prostrate himself before pope Stephen at St. Maurice in Valais. This was an eastern custom.

* Those who conquered England, or rather South Britain (for they themselves gave it the name of England), came from Jutland, Anglem, and Holstein, and these were assisted by the Frislanders.

People often kneeled before bishops, and these bishops bended the knee not only before emperors, but even before the governors of provinces, when these last came to take possession.

As for the custom of kissing feet, it was not yet introduced in the West. Dioclesian was the first who exacted that mark of respect. Pope Adrian I. and Leo III. first arrogated to the pontificate that honour which Dioclesian had assumed to the empire; after which, kings and emperors submitted like other people to that ceremony, in order to render the Roman religion the more venerable.

Pepin caused himself to be consecrated king of France, by the pope, in the month of August, in the abbey of St. Denis: he had already been consecrated by Boniface; but the hand of the pope rendered his usurpation the more respectable in the eyes of the people. Eginard, secretary to Charlemagne, says in express terms, that Hilderic was deposed by order of pope Stephen. Pepin is the first European king who was consecrated. This ceremony was an imitation of the unction applied to the Hebrew kings: he, at the same time, took care to see his two sons, Charles and Carloman, consecrated. The pope, before he consecrated him king, absolved him of his perjury to his sovereign Hilderic; and, after the consecration, fulminated an excommunication against whosoever should at any time attempt to take the crown from the family of Pepin. Neither Hugh Capet nor Conrad have shewn great respect to that excommunication. The new king, in recompence for the pope's complaisance, passes the Alps with his vassal Thallion duke of Bavaria,

varia, besieges Astolphus in Pavia, and returns the same year without success either in making war or peace*.

755.

Scarce had Pepin repassed the Alps, when Astolphus besieges Rome. Pope Stephen conjures the new king of France to come to his relief. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the simplicity of those ignorant times, than a letter which the pope causes to be written to the king of France in the name of St. Peter, as if it had come down from heaven; a simplicity, however, which did not exclude the frauds of policy and attempts of ambition.

Pepin delivers Rome, again besieges Pavia, makes himself master of the exarchate, and gives it (as they say) to the pope. This is the first title of the temporal power of the holy see, by which Pepin equally weakened the kings of Lombardy and the emperors of the East. This donation is very doubtful; for the archbishops of Ravenna at that time took the title of exarchs; consequently the bishops of Rome and Ravenna were resolved to aggrandize themselves. It is very probable that Pepin gave some lands to the popes, and favoured those in Italy who strengthened his dominions in France. If he really made that present to the popes, it is very clear that he gave away what did not belong to him, but he had also taken what was

* The French historians expressly say, that in this first expedition he obliged Astolphus to relinquish the exarchate of Ravenna and all his conquests, together with all his pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome; and that he exacted an oath from him and his nobility for the performance of these articles.

not his own. We find scarce any other source of the first rights. Time renders them legitimate.

756.

Boniface archbishop of Mentz goes upon a mission among the Friesland idolaters, from whom he receives the crown of martyrdom: but as historians say that he was martyred in his camp, and that abundance of the Frieſlanders were killed, it is reasonable to believe that the missionaries were soldiers. Thasillon duke of Bavaria does homage for his duchy to the king of France, in the form of those homages which have been since called Liegance. By this time there were great hereditary fiefs, and Bavaria was one of that number.

Pepin once more defeats the Saxons. All the wars of those people against the Franks seem to have been little more than the incursions of barbarians, who came by turns to carry off cattle, and ravage the harvests. There was no place of length, no policy, no formed design. This part of the world was still savage.

Pepin, by all his victories, gained no more than the payment of an old tribute of three hundred horses; to which were added five hundred cows. This was hardly worth the trouble of slaying so many thousand men.

758. 759. 760.

Didier, or Desiderius, successor of Astolphus, retakes the towns which Pepin gave to St. Peter; but Pepin was so formidable, that Didier is said to have restored them in consequence of his threats only. Hereditary vassalage began to be so effectually introduced, that the kings of France pretended to be lords paramount of the duchy

duchy of Aquitaine. Pepin, by force of arms, compels Gaïfre duke of Aquitaine to take the oath of fidelity to him in presence of the duke of Bavaria; so that he had two great sovereigns at his feet. We may easily perceive that these homages were no other than the submission of weakness to superior power.

762. 763.

The duke of Bavaria thinking himself strong enough, and seeing Pepin at a distance, revokes ~~his~~ homage; but, when the other is on the brink of making war upon him, renews his oath of fidelity.

766. 767.

The erection of the bishoprick of Saltzbourg. Pope Paul I. sends to the king, in a present, books, chanters, and a clock. Constantine Copronimus likewise sends to him an organ and some musicians. This would not be a fact worthy of history, if it did not shew how little the arts were known in that part of the world. At that time the Franks knew nothing but war, hunting, and feasting.

768.

The preceding years are barren of events, consequently happy for the people; for almost all the great events of history are public misfortunes. The duke of Aquitaine revokes his homage after the example of the duke of Bavaria. Pepin flies upon him, and reunites Aquitaine to the crown.

Pepin, surnamed the Short, died at Xaintes, September 24, in the 54th year of his age. Before his death he makes his will by word of mouth, and not by writing, in presence of the great officers of his house, his generals, and

those who held extensive lands for life. He divides his dominions between his two sons Charles and Carloman. After Pepin's death, the nobles modify his will. They gave to Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Provence, and Neustria, which then extended from the Meuse to the Loire and the ocean. Carloman had Austrasia from Rheims to the extremities of Thuringia. It is plain that the kingdom of France at the time comprehended near one half of Germany.

770.

Didier, king of the Lombards, offers his daughter Desiderata in marriage to Charles, who was already married: he espouses Desiderata, so it appear he had two wives at one time. This was not uncommon: Gregory de Tours says, that the kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had several wives.

771.

His brother Carloman dies suddenly at the age of twenty: his widow flies into Italy with two princes her children. This death and that flight do not absolutely prove that Charlemagne was resolved to reign alone, and entertained evil designs against his nephews; but neither do they prove that he deserved to have his festival celebrated as it is in Germany.

772.

Charles causes himself to be crowned king of Austrasia, and reunites all the vast realms of the Franks, without leaving any thing to his nephews. Posterity, dazzled by the glare of his glory, seem to have forgot that injustice. He repudiated his wife, the daughter of Didier, in order to revenge himself for the asylum which
the

the Lombard king had afforded to the widow of his brother Carloman.

He takes the field against the Saxons, and finds at their head a man worthy to fight against him : this was Witikind, the greatest defender of the German liberty, next to Herman, whom we call Arminius.

The king of France attacks him in that country which is now called the county de la Lippe. Those people were wretchedly armed ; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, we see a most rigorous prohibition to sell cuirasses and helmets to the Saxons. The arms and discipline of the Franks could not fail of being victorious over ferocious courage. Charles cuts in pieces the army of Witikind, and takes the capital called Erresbourg. That capital was a number of huts surrounded with a ditch. The inhabitants are slaughtered : He demolishes the principal temple of the country, said to have been formerly dedicated to the god Tanfana, *the universal principle*, if ever those barbarians acknowledged an universal principle ; but at that time dedicated to the god Irminful, a temple revered in Saxony, like that of Sion among the Jews. The priests were murdered upon the fragments of the idol which had been overthrown. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weser. All those districts submitted. Charlemagne resolved to bind them to his yoke with the tie of Christianity. While he hastened to the other end of his dominions, and to other conquests, he left among them missionaries to persuade, and soldiers to compel them. Almost all the people, who lived near the Weser, found themselves in one year Christians and slaves.

773.

While the king of the Franks restrains the Saxons on the banks of the Weser, he is recalled to Italy. The quarrels between the Lombards and the pope still subsisted; and the king, in succouring the church, might have made himself master of Italy, which was better worth his trouble than the countries of Bremen, Hanover, and Brunswick. He marched therefore against his father-in-law Didier, who was then before Rome. His aim was not to avenge Rome, but to hinder Didier from accommodating matters with the pope, in order to restore to the two sons of Carloman the kingdom which was their due. He ran to attack his father-in-law, and cloaked his usurpation with piety. He was followed by seventy thousand men, regularly trained to war, an almost incredible circumstance in those times. Armies of one hundred and two hundred thousand men had been assembled before this period, but then they consisted of peasants, who retired to their harvest after a battle was lost or won. Charlemagne retained them longer under his standard, and this discipline greatly contributes to his victories.

774.

The French army besieges Pavia. The king goes to Rome, renews and augments the donations of Pepin, and with his own hand places a copy of it on the tomb, which, as they pretended, contained the ashes of St. Peter. Pope Adrian thanks him in panegyric verses of his own writing.

The Tradition of Rome says, that Charles gave Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but surely
he

he did not bestow any of these countries, which were not in his possession. But there is still extant a letter from Adrian to the empress Irene, which proves that Charles gave some dominions which are not specified in the letter. "Charles duke of the Franks and Patrician, said he hath given us provinces, and restored the towns which the perfidious Lombards detain from the church, &c."

We find that Adrian still carefully husbanded his influence over the empire, in giving Charles the title of Duke and Patrician only, and seeking to fortify his possession with the name of restitution.

The king returns from Pavia. Didier surrenders himself, is made a monk, and sent to the abbey of Corbie in France. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the room of those made by the emperors. Every king, who had the misfortune to be dethroned, became a monk in those days.

Charlemagne caused himself to be crowned king of Italy in Pavia, with a crown on which there was an iron circle, still preserved in the little town of Monza.

Justice was still administered in Rome in the name of the Greek emperor. Even the popes received from him the confirmation of their election; for though the emperor was deprived of the substance, he still retained the shadow of power. Charlemagne, like Pepin, assumed no other title but that of Patrician, which Theodoric and Attila had deigned to receive; so that the name of Emperor, which originally signi-

fied no more than the general of an army, still implied the Master of the East and West. Unsubstantial as it was, they respected it, and even were afraid to usurp it. They affected no more than the term Patrician, which formerly meant a Roman Senator, and which at that time signified a Lieutenant, independent of an emperor, without power.

Nevertheless, money was then coined at Rome in the name of Adrian; from whence, what are we to conclude, but that the pope, delivered from the Lombards, and no longer obeying the emperors, was himself master in Rome? Certain it is, the Roman pontiffs, like the bishops of the Franks and Germans, seized the regal rights as soon as they were in their power; all authority seeks to augment itself; and for that reason only, nothing but the name of Charlemagne was stamped upon the new money coined at Rome in the year 800, when he was elected emperor by the pope and the Roman people.

775.

The second effort of the Saxons against Charlemagne, for the recovery of their liberty, which is called a revolt. They are again defeated in Westphalia; and, after abundance of blood had been shed, gave cattle and hostages, having nothing else to pay.

776.

An attempt of Adalgise the son of Didier to recover the kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Adrian construes it into a horrible conspiracy. Charles hastens to take vengeance; flies from Germany into Italy; beheads a duke of Friouli, who was an accomplice; and every thing submits to his fortune. During

During that very period, the Saxons return to Westphalia, and he returns to defeat them. They submit, and promise again to become Christians. Charles builds forts in their country, before any churches were built among them.

777.

He gives laws to the Saxons, and compels them to swear they will become slaves, should they ever cease to be Christians and submissive. At a grand diet, held at Paderborn in tents, a Mussulman emir, who command at Saragossa, came to conjure Charlemagne to support his rebellion against Abderame king of Spain.

778.

Charles marches from Paderborn into Spain; espouses the cause of this emir; besieges and takes Pampelune. We may observe, that the spoils of the Saracens were divided between the king, his officers, and soldiers, according to the ancient custom of making war only for the sake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all those who had an equal share of the danger. But all that booty is lost in repassing the Pyrenees. The rear-guard of Charlemagne is cut in pieces at Roncevalles by the Arabians and Gascons. There, it is said, perished his nephew Orlando, so celebrated for his courage and incredible strength.

As the Saxons had recourse to arms while Charles was in Italy, so they take them up while he is in Spain. Witikind, who had retired to the duke of Denmark his father-in-law, returns to reanimate his countrymen: he re-assembles them; finds in Bremen the capital of the

the country which bears that name, a bishop, a church, and his Saxons in despair of being dragged to new altars: he expels the bishop, who has time to embark and get away. Charlemagne comes up with great expedition, and defeats Witikind again.

780.

Victor on all hands, he sets out for Rome with one of his wives, called Ildegarde, and two younger children, Pepin and Lewis. Pope Adrian baptizes these two children, and consecrates Pepin king of Lombardy, and Lewis king of Aquitaine. This Aquitaine had been erected into a kingdom for some time.

781.

782.

The king of France keeps his court at Worms, Ratibon, and Cuerci. There he is visited by Alcuin archbishop of York. The king, who could scarce sign his own name, was resolved to make science flourish, because he would be great in every thing. Peter de Pifa taught him a smattering of grammar. It is not surprising that the Italians should instruct the Gauls and Germans; but it is very extraordinary that they should have always had occasion for Englishmen to learn that which at this day is not honoured with the name of Science.

They held conference before the king, which may be called the origin of the academies, especially those of Italy, in which every academician assumed a new name. Charlemagne took the appellation of David, Alcuin of Albinus*,

* Albin or Albinus was invited over by Charlemagne, and became his favourite. The classical name which this prelate assumed was Flaccus.

and

and a young man called Ilgeberd, who wrote doggerel verses, boldly appropriated to himself the name of Homer.

783.

Mean while Witikind, who did not learn grammar, raised an insurrection among the Saxons, and defeated the generals of Charles on the banks of the Weser. Charles comes to repair this loss. He is again victor over the Saxons, who lay down their arms before him: he commands them to deliver up Witikind. They answer that he has escaped to Denmark. *His accomplices are still here*, replied Charlemagne, and ordered four thousand five hundred to be butchered before his eyes. In this manner he prepared Saxony for the reception of Christianity.

784.

This massacre had the same effect as that produced a long time after by the massacre called St. Bartholemew in France. All the Saxons resumed their arms with fury and despair, and were joined by the Danes and neighbouring nations.

785.

Charles marches against this multitude, with his son of the same name. He obtains a new victory, and again imposes fruitless laws: establishing marquises or commanders of the militia upon the frontiers of his realms.

786.

Witikind yields at length. He comes with a duke of Friesland, and submits to Charlemagne at Attigni sur l'Aine. Then the kingdom of France extended as far as Holstein. The King of France repairs again to Italy and rebuilds

64 CHARLEMAGNE.

builds Florence ; it is very remarkable ; that he is no sooner at one end of his dominions, than there are always revolts at the other ; a sure sign that the king had not powerful bodies of troops on all his frontiers. The ancient Saxons joined the Bavarians ; the King repasses the Alps.

787.

The Empress Irene, who still governed the Greek Empire, at that time the only Empire, had formed a powerful league against the King of France. It was composed of those very Saxons and Bavarians, and the Huns so famous heretofore under Attila, who inhabited, as now, the banks of the Danube and the Drave ; nay, part of Italy itself had engaged in the association. Charles vanquished the Huns upon the Danube, and the whole was dissipated.

From 788 to 792.

During these four years of peace, he opened schools in the houses of bishops and monasteries. The Roman chanting was established in the churches of France. At the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle he instituted those laws which are called Capitulary. Laws that favour strongly of that barbarism which they were meant to reform, and in which the nation had been long buried.

These that follow are the customs, manners, laws and spirit, which then prevailed.

LAWs and CUSTOMs observed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

PROVINCES were governed and troops levied by Dukes, some of whom were removeable, and others hereditary vassals, much in the same manner

manner as the Turkish provinces are now governed by Beglerbeys. These Dukes had been instituted in Italy by Dioclesian. The Counts, whose origin appears to have been in the time of Theodosius, commanded under the Duke, each assembling the troops in his own district. The farms, the towns, and villages furnished a number of soldiers proportioned to their power. Twelve farms found one horseman armed with casque and cuirass.

The other soldiers wore nothing but a long square buckler, a battle-ax, a javelin and sword. Those who used arrows were obliged to have at least a dozen in their quivers. The province that furnished the soldiery, provided them with corn and provisions for six months. The king maintained them for the rest of the campaign. They were reviewed on the first of March and the first of May. It was usually at these seasons that the parliaments were held. In besieging towns they employed the Ram, the Balista, the Tortoise, and almost all the machines of the Romans, for, of all their arts, that of war alone subsisted, and *that* for their own ruin.

The noblemen called Barons, Leudes, Richlomes, with their followers, composed what little cavalry was then to be seen in armies. The Mussulmans of Africa and Spain had a great number of horse. It appears that afterwards, they learned of them to cover their men and horses with iron, and fight with lances.

Charles had naval forces at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire, from the Elbe to the Tiber. Before his time they were not known among the barbarians, and long after

after his death no such armaments were to be seen. By these means the warlike policy, which he maintained on all the coasts, he put a stop to those inundations of northern people, who then exercised the trade of pirates. He contained them within their own frozen climates; but, under his pusillanimous descendants, they deluged all Europe.

The general affairs were regulated in those assemblies which represented the nation, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, the Gauls, and people of the North. Under him, parliaments had no will but that of their master, who knew how to command and persuade.

He caused trade to flourish a little in his vast dominions, because he was master of the seas. Thus merchants from the coast of Tuscany went to trade at Constantinople among the Christians, and at the port of Alexandria among the Mussulmans, by whom they were civilly received, and from whom they drew the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa, so powerful in the sequel, by means of trade, had not yet engrossed the riches of the nations, tho' Venice began to grow wealthy and great.

Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles, and Tours, had a great many woollen manufactures, iron was damasked, glass was made, silk stuffs were not woven in any city of the West.

The Venetians began to bring them from Constantinople, where they were not known till after the Emperor Justinian; but it was not till near four hundred years after Charlemagne, that the Moors fabricated silk at Cordova,

dova, and the Norman princes who conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, afterwards established a silk manufactory at Palermo. Almost all the works of industry and craft were performed in the empire of the East. Linen was very uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter written to a bishop settled in Germany, desires he will send him some flagg'd cloth to wipe his feet after washing. This want of linen was in all probability, the cause of those diseases of the skin, known by the name of Leprosy *, so rife in those days; for there was already a great number of those hospitals called Lazars.

It is pretended that even in the time of Charlemagne great projects were formed for the benefit of commerce, as they had actually begun the famous canal, which was to join the Rhine to the Danube, and thus open a communication between the Black Sea and the Ocean. But the spirit of conquest might have had a greater share in this undertaking, than any view to public utility.

Money had nearly the same value as that of the Roman empire after Constantine. The golden sol was the *solidum Romanum*, which the

* We should rather think that the wearing of woollen next the skin would help to prevent the leprosy, by promoting a copious and regular perspiration. We do not find that the Romans were subject to this distemper; nor the other Europeans, before the use of linen was known to them. The leprosy made no figure among the northern nations, until it was imported from the East, in the time of the crusades; and then it gained ground to such a degree, that it was found expedient to build lazar houses in almost every kingdom of Europe.

barbarians called *sol* from their known habit of contracting all names. Thus of *Augustus* they made *Asút*; of *Forum Julii* Frejus; and this golden *sol* was equivalent to forty deniers of silver through the whole extent of Charlemagne's dominions.

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

THE CHURCH.

THE churches of France were rich, those of Germany began to be rich, and were destined one day to be more so, because they were endowed with larger territories. The Bishops and Abbots had a great number of slaves. The Abbot Alcuin, preceptor to Charlemagne, is reproached with having had twenty thousand. This number is not incredible. Alcuin possessed three abbeys, the lands of which had been inhabited by twenty thousand men, all belonging to the lord or superior. These slaves, known under the name of *Serfs*, could not marry, nor change the place of their abode without the permission of the Abbot. They were obliged to go fifty leagues with their carts, if he commanded them. They worked for him three days in the week, and he shared all the fruits of the earth.

In France and in Germany the bishops more than once have been known to go to battle with their *Serfs*. Charlemagne, in a letter to one of his wives called Frastada, mentions a Bishop who had valiantly fought by his side, in a battle against the Avars, a people descended from the Scythians, who were settled towards the country which is now called Austria.

We

We find in his time 14 monasteries which were obliged to furnish soldiers. If the Abbot was in the least inclined to war, nothing hindered him from heading them in person; true it is in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne, that too great a number of priests had been slain in war. Then the ministers of the altar were forbid going to battle, but custom was the stronger law.

We see in the Bavarian laws and the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne, that the priests were forbid to have any other women in their houses, but their mothers and sisters: this was one of those laws which are contradicted by custom.

No person was allowed to call himself clerk who was not really so, or to wear the tonsure without belonging to a bishop. Such clerks were called *Acephali*, and punished as vagabonds. They were ignorant of the station so common in our days, which is neither secular nor ecclesiastic*. The title of *Abbot*, which signifies father, belonged to none but the chiefs of monasteries, or even to seculars constituted in dignity; for example, the title was given to the chief of the republic of Genoa.

The Abbots of that time had the pastoral staff which the Bishops carried, and which had been the mark of the augural dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power those Abbots had

* A set of people known by the name of Abbess, who distinguish themselves from the laity by a kind of clerical habit, tho' in reality they do not belong to any order of the church: many individuals assume this habit to save the expence of lace and embroidery; for the abbe's dress, like canonicals in England, entitles the wearer to admission into the best company.

over their monks, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel afflictive pain. They were the first who adopted the barbarous custom of the Greek Emperors, namely, that of burning the eyes*, and a council was obliged to prohibit this outrage, which they began to look upon as a right and prerogative.

As to the ceremonies of the Church, the mass was different from what it is at present, and still more different from what it had been in the first ages: there was no more than one said in every church. And Kings very rarely caused them to be said in private.

The first auricular confession which is called general confession, is that of St. Eloy in the sixth century. The enemies of the Roman Church, who have revolted against such a salutary institution, seem to have divested mankind of the most effectual bridle to restrain their secret crimes. Even the very sages of antiquity had felt the importance of it; and tho' they had not been able to impose it as a duty on all men, they had established the practice of it among those who pretended to lead a life of purity: it was the first expiation of those who were initiated among the ancient Egyptians, and in the Eleusinian Mysteries of Ceres. Thus the Christian Religion hath consecrated things, the shadow of which God had permitted human wisdom to perceive and embrace.

Religion was not yet extended to the north farther than the conquests of Charlemagne. Denmark, and all the country of the Normans were plunged in gross idolatry. The

* An operation performed by bringing a piece of red hot metal so near the eye, as to destroy that organ.

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inhabitants adored Odin; they imagined that after death, the happiness of man consisted in drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies in Odin's Hall. We have still translations of their old songs which express this notion. It was a great deal for them to believe another life. Poland was neither less barbarous nor less idolatrous. The Muscovites, more savage than all the other inhabitants of Great Tartary, knew scarce enough of religion to be Pagans, Yet all these nations lived quietly and peaceably * in their ignorance, happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who sold the knowledge of Christianity so dear.

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

L A W S and C U S T O M S.

Justice was usually administered by counts appointed by the king. They had their respective districts assigned, and were supposed to be acquainted with the laws, which were neither so numerous nor obscure as ours: the proceedings were simple, and every man pleaded his own cause in France and Germany.

Rome alone and her dependencies still retained abundance of the laws and formalities of the Roman empire; the Lombard laws prevailed through the rest of Hither Italy.

* Not so quietly, if we may believe the histories of Saxo-grammaticus, Loccinus, &c. How is it possible that savage nations could live peaceably, who depended upon plunder for many of the necessities of life?

Every count had under him a lieutenant called *Vigui*er, seven assessors (*Scabinii*) chosen in the city. Like the ancient Roman Senators, they were at once warriors and judges. Nay they were forbid to appear upon the tribunal without their bucklers; but, under Charlemagne, no other citizens or even soldiers were allowed to go armed in time of peace. This wise law, conformable to that of the Romans and Mussulmans, prevented those quarrels and continual duels which afterwards desolated Europe, when the fashion was introduced of never quitting the sword, but of going armed into the houses of friends, courts of judicature, and churches; an abuse carried to such a length, that in Spain, Germany and Flanders, the judge, the counsellor, the solicitor, and physician, walk at this day with their swords by their sides, as if they were going to fight.

Those counts published in their jurisdiction the order of marching to war, enlisting soldiers under captains or companies of an hundred, conducted them to the rendezvous of the troops, and in the mean time left their lieutenants to act as judges in the boroughs, for I dare not call them cities.

The King sent commissaries with express letters, *Missi Dominici*, to examine the conduct of the counts: but neither those commissaries nor counts scarce ever condemned a criminal to death or to any corporal punishment. For, excepting Saxony, where Charlemagne exacted sanguinary laws, almost all sorts of crimes were punished by fine through the rest of his empire; that of rebellion alone was punished with death, and the kings reserved the

judgment to themselves. The Salique law, that of the Lombards and of the *Ripuarii*, had set fixed prices upon the greatest part of all the other outrages which are now punished with the loss of life, or by severe penalties. This jurisprudence, which appears humane, was in effect more cruel than our own: it left every body who could pay for it, a liberty to do mischief. The gentlest law is that which by bridling iniquity in the most terrible manner, prevents the frequent commission of crimes.

By the ancient laws reduced under Dagobert king of the Franks, it cost one hundred sols to cut off a man's ear; and if the loss of the ear was not attended with deafness, the perpetrator was quit for fifty.

The murder of a deacon was taxed at four hundred sols, and that of a parish priest at six hundred.

The third chapter of the Ripuary law, allows the murderer of a bishop to atone the crime by paying as much gold as will balance a leaden Tunique, as long as the delinquent, and of a determined thickness.

The Salique law revived under Charlemagne, fixes the price of a bishop's life at 400 sols. It is so true that a criminal could redeem his life in this manner, that a number of those laws are thus expressed. *Componat tercentum, ducentum, centum solidis*. The delinquent may compound for 300, 200, or 100, sols.

The torture was applied to slaves only, and he who by the torture occasioned the death of an innocent slave belonging to another man, was obliged to give him two by way of satisfaction.

Charlemagne, who corrected the Salique and Lombard laws, did nothing but raise the price of crimes. They were all specified, and a distinction made between the price of a stroke that bared the brain, and one that only cut off one of the tables of the scull: the first was valued at 45 sols, and the other at 20.

A witch convicted of having eaten human flesh, was condemned to pay 200 sols: And this article is a proof very humbling to human nature, of the excess to which we may be driven by superstition.

All outrages against chastity had likewise their fixed prices. The rape of a married woman cost 200 sols.* For having violated a girl on the highway, they payed but forty sols. Whosoever carried off a girl of servile condition, was fined in four sols, and obliged to restore her to her master. The most severe of those barbarous laws, was precisely that which ought to have been the most gentle. Charlemagne himself, in the sixth book of his Capitularies, says that a man's marrying his godmother is a crime worthy of death, which can be atoned no other way but by spending his whole life in pilgrimage.

Among the Salique laws there is one which strongly denotes the contempt into which the Romans were fallen with those barbarous people: The Franc who had slain a Roman citizen, paid no more than 1050 deniers; whereas the Roman paid 2500 for the blood of a Franc.

In criminal causes that could not be otherwise decided, the accused party purged himself by oath, and not only himself, but he was obliged to produce a certain number of witnesses

to swear to the same effect *. When both parties opposed oath to oath, the combat was some times permitted.

These combats we know were appeals to the judgment of God : this is the name they gave to the most deplorable follies of those barbarous governments. The accused were subjected to the proof of cold water, boiling water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the ancient ceremonies of those trials. They began with the mass, the accused person was excommunicated, the cold water was blessed and exorcised, and then being bound with cords, he was thrown into the water : If he sunk to the bottom, he was reputed innocent ; but if he floated on the surface, he was found guilty. Mr. de Fleuri, in his Ecclesiastic History, says it was a sure way to find no person criminal. I dare say, it was a way by which many innocent persons perished. There are many men whose breasts are so large, and whose lungs are so light, as to hinder them from sinking, especially when a thick cord with which they are tied in several circumvolutions, constitutes, with the body, a volume specifically lighter than the same quantity of water ||. This wretched custom, since proscribed in large cities, is preserved even to our days in many provinces ; and those who incurred the imputation of sorcery have been often subjected to it, even by the sentence of the judge ; for nothing en-

* Resembling the custom of *Frank pledge* among the Saxons, which was borrowed from the Lombards.

|| We have animadverted on this remark in the first volume of the translation.

dures so long as superstition, and more than one unfortunate wretch has lost his life by the trial.

The judgment of God, by means of hot water, was executed by compelling the accused to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water, and take up from the bottom a consecrated ring. The judge, in presence of the priests and the people, inclosed the patient's arm in a bag sealed with his own seal: and if in three days after, no mark of a scald appeared, or if the mark was thought inconsiderable, his innocence was acknowledged. We plainly see that the judges could warp these strange laws according to their own pleasure, seeing it was in their power to decide whether or not the cicatrix was considerable enough to constitute the crime.

793.

Charles being neighbour to the Huns, of consequence becomes their natural enemy. He levies troops against them, and girds his son Lewis with the sword in the fourteenth year of his age. He makes him what was then called *Miles*, that is, instructs him in the art of war; but this was not creating him knight, as some authors have imagined. Chivalry was not established until a long time after this period. He again defeats the Huns upon the Danube and upon the Raab.

Charles assembles the bishops to judge the doctrine of Elipand archbishop of Toledo. One may be amazed to find an archbishop of Toledo at that time when the Mussulmans were masters in Spain; but we must know that the Mussulmans, though victors, left liberty of conscience to the vanquished; that they did not think the
Christians

Christians were worthy to be Mussulmans, and contented themselves with imposing a slight tribute upon them.

This Elipand imagined, like Felix d'Urgel, that Jesus Christ as man was the adopted son, but as God the natural son of God the Father. It was a difficult point to resolve by one's self; therefore it was referred to judges, by whom the doctrine was condemned.

While Charles obtains victories, enacts laws, and assembles bishops, a conspiracy is formed against him. He had a son by one of his wives or concubines, called Pepin the Hunchbacked, to distinguish him from his other son Pepin, king of Italy. Such children as are now called bastards, and deprived of inheritance, were capable of inheriting at that time, and were not reputed bastards. Hunchback, though the eldest of all the sons, had no portion, and this is the origin of the conspiracy. He is apprehended with his accomplices at Ratisbon, tried by a parliament, shaved, and sent to the monastery of Prum in the Ardennes. Some of his adherents have their eyes put out, and others are beheaded,

794.

The Saxons revolt again, and are again easily defeated. Witikind was no longer at their head *.

The famous council of Frankfort. Here was condemned the second council of Nicea, in which the empress Irene had re-established the worship of images.

* This chief had turned Christian when he submitted to Charlemagne, and after that period was never concerned in any insurrection.

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Charlemagne causes the Carolin-Books to be written against image worship. Rome did not then think like the kingdom of the Franks; but this difference of opinion did not create any quarrel between Charlemagne and the pope, to whom his friendship was necessary.

795.

The duke of Friuli, a vassal of Charles, is sent against the Huns; and makes himself master of their treasures, supposing they had any. Pope Adrian dies December 25. Charlemagne is said to have written his epitaph in Latin verse; but one can hardly believe that this king of the Franks, who could not write *, should nevertheless be capable of making Latin verses.

796.

Leo III. succeeds Adrian, and Charles writes to him thus: "We rejoice at your election, and that you pay us that obedience and fidelity which is our due." In this manner he expresses himself as a patrician of Rome, and thus his father expressed himself to the Franks as mayor of the palace.

797.

798.

Pepin king of Italy is sent by his father against the Huns; a sure sign that the former victories were not very complete. He obtains a new one. The celebrated empress Irene is shut up in a cloister by her son Constantine V. She re-ascends the throne; causes her son's eyes

* The French historians says positively, that he spoke and wrote Latin fluently, and even composed verses in that language; that he understood Greek, and was a good proficient in astronomy. If that was the case, it is very strange he should not have learned to write.

to be put out: he dies of the operation, and she laments his death. This Irene, although the natural enemy of Charlemagne, was desirous of being allied to him.

799.

At this period the Normans, that is, *men of the North*, who inhabited the coasts of the Baltic, were pirates. Charles equips a fleet and clears the seas of them.

The new pope Leo III. incurs the resentment of the Romans: his canons resolve to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. The attempt is made, but he recovers of his wounds: he comes to Paderborn to demand justice of Charles, who sends him back to Rome with an escorte. Charles follows him in a little time; sends his son Pepin to seize the duchy of Beneventum, which still held of the emperor of Constantinople.

800.

He arrives at Rome; declares the pope innocent of the crimes laid to his charge; and the pope declares him emperor amidst the acclamations of the people. Charlemagne affects to conceal his joy under the cloke of modesty, and seems astonished at his glory: he acts as the sovereign of Rome, and renews the empire of the Cæsars: but to render that empire durable, there was a necessity for his remaining at Rome.

801.

Historians alledge, that as soon as he was emperor, Irene expressed a desire of being married to him. Such a marriage would rather have been between the two empires than between Charlemagne and Irene, who was an old woman.

802.

Charlemagne exerts all the authority of the old emperors. No country from Beneventum to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria was exempted from his legislative power. John duke of Venice, having assassinated a bishop, is accused before Charles, and does not object to him as a judge.

Nicephorus, successor to Irene, acknowledges Charles as emperor, without coming to any agreement above the limits of the two empires.

803.

404.

The emperor applies himself to the establishment of police in his dominions, as much as the times would permit. He again disperses the factions of the Saxons, and at last transports part of that people to Flanders, Provence, Italy, and Rome itself.

805.

He dictates his last will, which begins thus : " Charles, Emperor, Cæsar, the most invincible king of the Franks," &c. He bequeaths to Lewis all the country from Spain to the Rhine : he leaves Italy and Bavaria to Pepin ; and to Charles, France from the Loire to Ingoldstadt, and all Aufrasia from the Scheld to the confines of Brandenbourg. In these three lots there was subject for eternal divisions. Charlemagne thought to prevent all dissensions, by ordaining, that if any difference should happen about the limits of these kingdoms, which could not be decided by evidence, they should appeal to the *Judgement of the Cross*. This consisted in making the opposite advocates stand with their arms extended, and he who was first wearied lost the cause. The natural good sense
of

of so great a conqueror could not over-balance the customs of the age.

Charlemagne still retains the empire and the sovereignty, and was king of the kings his children. This famous will was made at Thionville with the approbation of a parliament. The parliament was composed of bishops, abbots, officers of the palace and the army, who attended for no other reason but to attest the will of an absolute master. The diets were not then what they are now ; and that vast republic of princes, noblemen, and free towns, under one chief, was not then established.

806.

The famous Aaron, caliph of Bagdad, the new Babylon, sends ambassadors and presents to Charlemagne. The nations bestowed upon Aaron a title superior to that of Charlemagne ; the emperor of the West was surnamed The Great, but the caliph was surnamed The Just *.

It is not surprising that Aaron Raschid should send ambassadors to the French emperor : they were both enemies to the emperor of the East : but what would be surprising is, that the caliph, as our historians alledge, should propose the cession of Jerusalem to Charlemagne. It would have been a profanation in the caliph to yield up to Christians a city full of Mosques ; and this profanation would have cost him his throne and life. Besides, enthusiasm had not as yet summoned the Christians of the West to Jerusalem.

Charles convokes a council at Aix-la-Chapelle. This council adds to the creed, " that

* He was called Aaron Al Raschid, or The Upright.

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the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son." This addition was not then received at Rome, but the Romans adopted it soon after. Thus some *Dogmas* are established by little and little.

At this period, the people called Normans, Danes, and Scandinavians, reinforced by the ancient Saxons, who had retired among them, presumed to menace the coasts of the new empire. Charles crosses the Elbe; and Godfrey, chief of all those Barbarians, in order to defend himself, draws a large trench between the ocean and the Baltick, on the confines of Holstein, the ancient Cimbrique Chersonesus, and fortifies this trench with a strong palisado. In the same manner the Romans had drawn an intrenchment between England and Scotland: feeble imitations of the famous Chinese wall*.

807. 808. 809.

Treaties with the Danes. Laws for the Saxons. Police established in the empire. Small fleets stationed at the mouths of rivers.

810.

Pepin that son of Charlemagne to whom his father had given the kingdom of Italy, dies of the plague, in the month of July, leaving a bastard called Bernard. The emperor, without difficulty, bestows Italy on this bastard, as the natural heir, according to the custom of the time.

* Why imitations? might not common sense and reflection point out the expedient to people who had never heard of the Chinese wall; which, in all probability, was the case with those barbarians?—We must also observe, that the Roman wall drawn across the North of England by Severus was as strong and effectual as the famous wall of China.

811.

A fleet stationed at Boulogne, in the channel. A light-house rebuilt at Boulogne. Wurtzburg built. The death of prince Charles destined for the empire.

813.

The emperor associates his son Lewis in the empire, in the month of March, at Aix-la-Chapelle. All present are obliged to give their votes for this association. He gives the city of Ulm to the Monks, who treat the inhabitants like slaves. He gives lands to Eginard the supposed lover of his daughter Emma. The romances are full of fables worthy of archbishop Turpin *, concerning this Eginard and that pretended daughter of the emperor; but, unfortunately for the author, Charlemagne never had a daughter of that name.

814.

He dies of a pleurisy after seven days illness, January 28, at three in the morning. He had no physician near him who knew what a pleurisy was. Medicine, like almost all the other arts, was known to none but the Arabians and Greeks of Constantinople.

* The fabulous history of Charlemagne and Orlando, which furnished the ground work for the poems of Boyardo and Ariosto, was not written by archbishop Turpin, but by a monk who assumed the name of Turpin, in the eleventh century; whereas the archbishop of Rheims, to whom it has been falsely imputed, flourished in the eighth.

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, OR THE WEAK.

SECOND EMPEROR.

814.

LEWIS hastens from Aquitaine to Aix-la-Chapelle, and puts himself in full possession of the empire. He was born in 578 to Charlemagne, by one of his wives, called Ildegarde, daughter of a German duke. He is said to have had beauty, strength, health, and address at all his exercises, and to have understood Latin and Greek; but he was weak and unfortunate. His empire was bounded on the North by the Baltick and Denmark; the Ocean on the West; the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Pyrenees on the South and the Vistula and Tæissa on the East. The duke of Beneventum was his feudatory, and paid him annually seven thousand crowns of gold for his duchy; a very considerable sum at that time. The territory of Beneventum extended much farther at that time than now, and constituted the boundary of the two empires.

815.

The first step that Lewis took, was to shut up all his sisters in convents, and all their lovers in jail, a measure for which he was not beloved either in his own family, or in the state; the second was to augment the privileges of all the churches; the third was to incense his nephew Bernard king of Italy, who came to take the oath of fidelity, and saw all his friends exiled.

816. Stephen

816.

Stephen IV. is elected bishop of Rome and pope by the Roman people, without consulting the emperor; but he makes the people swear obedience and fidelity to Lewis, to whom he carries the oath in person to Rheims. He crowns the emperor and his wife Ermengarde; and returns to Rome in the month of October, with a decree importing that for the future the popes shall be elected in presence of the emperor's ambassadors.

817.

Lewis associates his eldest son Lotharius in the empire. This was being in a great hurry. He makes Pepin, his second son, king of Aquitaine; and erects Bavaria, with some neighbouring countries, into a kingdom for his youngest son Lewis. All three are dissatisfied; Lotharius, at being an emperor without power; the two others, with the smallness of their dominions; and Bernard, king of Italy, nephew to the emperor, more dissatisfied than all the rest.

818.

The emperor Lewis thought himself emperor of Rome, and Bernard grandson of Charlemagne would have no master in Italy. It is plain that Charlemagne in his division had acted more like a parent than a politician, and laid the foundation of civil wars for his family. The emperor and Bernard had recourse to arms, and meet at Châlons sur Saone. Bernard, who was probably more ambitious than warlike, loses parts of his army without fighting; and submits to the mercy of Lewis the Debonnaire, who orders the eyes of his nephew Bernard and all his partisans to be put out. The operation
was

86 LEWIS THE WEAK.

was not expertly performed upon Bernard, who dies three days after he had undergone it. This custom of putting out the eyes of princes, was very much practised by the Greek emperors, unknown to the caliphs, and prohibited by Charlemagne.

819.

The emperor loses his wife Ermengarde, and hesitates whether he shall become a monk or marry again. He takes to wife one Judith daughter of a Bavarian count. He pacifies some troubles in Pannonia, and holds diets at Aix-la-Chapelle.

820.

His generals retake Carniola and Carinthia from the barbarians who had conquered these provinces.

821.

Several ecclesiastics inspire the emperor Lewis with remorse for the punishment he had inflicted upon his nephew king Bernard, and the monastierial captivity in which he held three of his own brothers, whose names were Drogon, Thierri, and Hugues, contrary to the promise he had made to Charlemagne to take care of their fortune. Those ecclesiastics were in the right. It is a consolation to mankind, that there are every where men who can in the name of the Divinity inspire princes with remorse: but there they ought to stop, without persecuting and debasing them.

822.

The bishops and abbots impose a public penance on the emperor. He appears, in the assembly of Attigni, covered with hair-cloth. He gives archbishopricks and abbeys to his brothers
whom

whom he had made monks against their inclination. He implores forgiveness of God for the death of Bernard ; this might have been done without hair-cloth and public penance, which rendered the emperor ridiculous.

823.

What were more dangerous circumstances, Lotharius, whom he had associated in the empire, caused himself to be crowned at Rome by pope Paschal ; the emperess Judith, his mother-in-law, brought him a brother ; and the Romans neither loved nor valued the emperor. One of the great faults of Lewis, was his neglecting to fix the state of empire at Rome. Pope Paschal without remission put out the eyes of all those who preached up obedience to emperors ; but afterwards he swore before God, that he had no share in these executions, and the emperor said not a word.

The emperess Judith is delivered at Compeigne of a son who is called Charles, Lotharius was then returned from Rome. His father Lewis the emperor exacts of him an oath, importing that he would consent to give some kingdom to this child : a kind of oath, the violation of which he might have foreseen.

824.

Pope Pascal dies. The Romans will not allow him to be buried. Lotharius, at his return to Rome, causes informations to be taken against his memory. The process is dropt. Lotharius, as emperor and sovereign of Rome, makes laws for the protection of the popes ; but in these very laws, he names the pope before himself ; a very dangerous piece of inattention.

Pope Stephen II. takes the oath of fidelity to
the

the two emperors, but there it is expressly said it was of his own free-will. The clergy and the Roman people swear they will never suffer a pope to be elected without the consent of the emperor. They swear fealty to their lords Lewis and Lotharius, but add, "saving the fidelity we have promised to our lord the pope."

It seems that in all the oaths of those times, there were clauses by which they were in effect annulled.

Armorica or Brittany would not then acknowledge the empire. Those people had no right, but that in common to all men, to be free; but in less than forty days they were obliged to yield to the stronger power.

825.

One Heriolt duke of the Danes comes to the court of Lewis to embrace the Christian religion; but this was because he had been expelled from his own dominions. The emperor sends Ansharius, a monk of Corbie, to preach Christianity in the deserts where Stockholm is now actually built. He founds the bishoprick of Hamburg for this Ansharius, and from Hamburg the missionaries are to set out, in order to convert the North.

New Corbie is founded in Westphalia for the same purpose. The abbot, instead of being a missionary, is now a prince of the empire.

826.

While Lewis is employed at Aix-la-Chapelle, about the missions of the North, the Moorish kings of Spain send troops into Aquitaine, and war is carried on near the Pyrenees between the Mussulmans and the Christians; but it is soon terminated by agreement,

827. The

827.

The emperor Lewis causes councils to be held at Mentz, Paris, and Toulouse. He repents of this measure. The council of Paris writes to him and his son Lotharius: "We intreat your excellencies to remember, after the example of Constantine, that the bishops have a right to judge you, and that bishops cannot be judged by man."

Lewis bestows upon his young son Charles in the cradle, what was then called Germany, situate between the Maine, the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube; to this he added Transjurane Burgundy, comprehending the country of Geneva and Switzerland.

The three other children of Lewis resent this partition, and at first excite the exclamations of the whole empire.

828.

Judith, mother of Charles, that infant king of Germany, governed her husband the emperor, and was governed by one Bernard count of Barcelona, her gallant, whom she had placed at the head of affairs.

829.

So many weaknesses gave birth to factions. An abbot, called Vala, a relation of Lewis, begins a conspiracy against the emperor. His three children, Lotharius associated by him in the empire, Pepin to whom he had given Aquitaine, and Lewis who had received Bavaria from his bounty, declared against their father.

An abbot of St. Denis, who had at the same time St. Medard de Soissons and St. Germain, promises to levy troops for their service. The bishops of Vienna, Amiens, and Lyons, declare
all

all those who will not join them, "rebels to God and the church." This was not the first time the world had seen civil war preached up in the name of God; but it was the first time any father had at one time seen three of his own children rebellious and unnatural in the name of God.

830.

Each of these rebellious sons had an army; and the father had put an handful of troops, with which he fled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Picardy. He set out on Ash-Wednesday; a circumstance trifling in itself, but became eternally memorable by its having been imputed to him as a crime equal to sacrilege.

At first a remnant of respect for the paternal and imperial authority, which had mixed with the rebellion, induces them to give Lewis the Weak the hearing in an assembly at Compiègne. There he promised to be ruled by the advice of his son king Pepin and that of the priests, and to make his wife a nun: but until a decisive resolution can be taken, Pepin, according to the custom of the times, puts out the eyes of Bernard, that gallant of Judith who thought himself secure; and his brother underwent the same fate.

Those who have a taste for the researches of antiquity, are of opinion, that Bernard preserved his eyes, and that his brother suffered for him. True knowledge does not consist in the investigation of these things; but in knowing the barbarous customs which prevailed at that time, the weakness of the government, the misery of nations, and the power of the clergy.

Lotha-

Lotharius arrives from Italy : he puts the emperor his father in prison, in the hands of monks. One of these, whose name was Gombaud, having more address than his fellows, serves the emperor with great dexterity, and effects his deliverance. Lotharius at length begs pardon of his father at Nimeguen. The three brothers are divided among themselves, and the emperor, at the mercy of those by whom he is governed, leaves the whole empire in confusion.

831.

Diets are assembled, and armies raised on all hands. The empire becomes an anarchy. Lewis of Bavaria enters the country called Germany, and makes his peate at the head of an army.

Pepin is made prisoner. Lotharius is taken into favour ; and in every treaty a new rebellion is projected.

832.

The empress Judith takes the advantage of a lucky moment, to strip Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitaine, and give it to her son Charles, that is to herself in the name of her son. If the emperor Lewis the Weak had not given away so many kingdoms, he would have been able to keep his own.

Lotharius, under pretext of dethroning his brother Pepin, arrives from Italy with an army, and with that army brings Pope Gregory IV. to inspire more respect and excite more trouble.

833.

Some bishops attached to the emperor Lewis, particularly those of Germany, write to the Pope : " If thou art come to excommunicate, thou shalt return excommunicated." But the party of Lotharius, of the other rebellious sons,
and

and the pope, prevailed. The rebel and papal army advances to the neighbourhood of Basil against the imperial army. The Pope writes to the Bishops: "Know that the authority of my chair is greater than that of the throne of Lewis." In order to prove that assertion, he negotiates with that emperor and deceives him. The field in which they negotiate, is called The field of deceit. He seduced the emperor's officers and soldiers. That unfortunate father surrenders himself to his rebellious sons Lotharius and Lewis of Bavaria, on this single condition, that they should not put out the eyes of his wife and son Charles who was with him.

The rebellious Lotharius sends his mother-in-law prisoner to Tortona; his father to the abbey of St. Medard, and his brother Charles to the monastery of Prum. He assembles a diet at Compiègne, and from thence adjourns to Soissons.

An archbishop of Rheims, called Ebbon, taken from a servile condition against the laws, and elevated to that dignity by Lewis himself, deposes his sovereign and benefactor. The monarch is compelled to appear before this prelate, surrounded by thirty bishops, canons and monks in the church of Notre Dame at Soissons. Lotharius is present at the humiliation of the father. An hair-cloth is spread before the altar. The archbishop commands the emperor to take off his baldrick, sword and habit, and prostrate himself upon this hair-cloth. Lewis, with his face towards the earth, implores of his own accord public penance, which he deserved but too well by this abject submission. The archbishop compels him to read aloud the list
of

of his crimes, among which it is specified that he had ordered his troops to march on ~~Asst~~ Wednesday, and convoked a parliament on Holy Thursday. They constitute a verbal process of this whole transaction, a monument still extant of insolence and meanness. In this process they did not even deign to call Lewis by the name of Emperor.

Lewis the Weak continues shut up for the space of a year, in a cell of the convent of St. Medard at Soissons, cloathed in sack-cloth, without servants, without consolation. Had he had but one son, he would have been lost for ever; but his three children quarrelled about his spoils, and their dissensions soon restored liberty and the crown to their father.

At this time of anarchy, the Normans, that is an assemblage of Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Pomeranians and Livonians, infested the coasts of the empire. They burned the new bishoprick of Hamburg, sacked and plundered Friesland, shewed by anticipation the miseries they would one day occasion, and there was no other way taken to expel them, but paying a sum of money, which invited them to return again.

834.

Lewis king of Bavaria, and Pepin king of Aquitaine, resolve to deliver their father, because they are dissatisfied with their brother Lotharius, who is forced to consent to his enlargement. The emperor is re-established at St. Denis near Paris, but he dares not resume the crown, till after he is absolved by the bishops.

835.

As soon as he is absolved, he is enabled to levy troops. Lotharius restores his wife Judith

and his son Charles. An assembly at Thionville anathematizes that of Soissons. It costs the archbishop Ebbon no more than the loss of his see; besides, he was only deposed in the vestry; whereas the emperor had been degraded at the foot of the altar.

836.

This whole year is spent in fruitless negotiations, and marked by public calamities.

837.

Lewis the Weak is taken ill. A comet appears: "Fail not," said the emperor to his astrologer, "to let me know what that comet signifies." The astrologer answers that it portended the death of a great prince. The emperor did not doubt but it was his own; prepares himself for death, and recovers. That same year the comet had its effect upon his son king Pepin. This was a new source of trouble.

838.

The emperor Lewis has now but two children to fear, instead of three. Lewis of Bavaria rebels again, and again begs pardon.

839.

Lotharius likewise begs pardon in order to have Aquitaine. The emperor makes a new partition of his dominions, takes every thing from the children of Pepin lately dead. To Italy possessed by the rebel Lotharius, he adds Burgundy, Lyons, Franche Comté, part of Lorraine, of the Palatinate, of Triers, Cologne, Alsace, Franconia, Nuremberg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Friesland. He gave to his beloved Charles the son of Judith, all that lies between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meuse, and the ocean. By this partition, he again finds the secret to disgust

disgust his children and grand-children. Lewis of Bavaria takes arms against him.

840.

Lewis the emperor dies at length of chagrin. Before his death he makes presents to his children. Some partisans of Lewis of Bavaria, expostulating with him on account of his having given nothing to that unnatural son, "I forgave him, said he, but let him know he is the cause of my death."

His will confirms the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the church of Rome, which owes every thing to the kings of the Franks. One is surprised in reading the charter called *Carta divisionis*, to find him adding Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily to those presents. Sardinia and Sicily were disputed between the Mussulmans and some Christians adventures, which last had recourse to the popes, from whom they received bulls and charity. They consented to hold of the popes; but at that time, in order to acquire that right of fief or dependence, the popes ought to have demanded it of the emperors. It is not known whether or not Lewis the Weak actually ceded the superiority of Sardinia and Corsica. As for Sicily, it belonged to the emperors of the east.

Lewis expires June 20, 840.



L O T H A R I U S.

THIRD EMPEROR.

841.

IN a little time after the death of his son, Charlemagne's empire underwent the destiny of Alexander's and of the greatness of the caliphs.

liph. Raised with precipitation, it tumbled all at once, and was divided by intestine wars.

It is not at all surprizing, that princes who had dethroned their father, should wish to exterminate each other. Every one vied in stripping his brother. Lotharius the emperor wanted to have the whole. Lewis of Bavaria and Charles the son of Judith united against him. They laid waste the empire, and drained it of soldiers. The two kings fought a bloody battle with their brother at Fonteney in the Auxerois. An hundred thousand men are said to have been lost on this occasion. Lotharius was victor. Then he exhibited to the world an example of policy, quite contrary to that of Charlemagne. The conqueror of the Saxons and Frieslanders had subjected them to Christianity as a necessary check. Lotharius, in order to attach them to his interest, gives them free liberty of conscience, and one half of the country becomes idolatrous again.

842.

The two brothers, Lewis of Bavaria and Charles of Aquitaine, unite by that famous oath which is almost the only monument * extant of the language called Romance: *Pro Deo amur & pro Christian poble, & nostro commun salvament dinst di in avant, in quant Deos savir & podir me dunat, &c.* This language is still spoken by the Grisons of the valley of Engadina.

843.

844.

An assembly is held at Verdun, for a treaty of partition between the three brothers. They fight and negotiate from the Rhine to the Alps.

* Since the publication of these annals, other specimens of this language have been offered to the public, even by our author himself, as appears in the course of our translation.

Italy waits in tranquility, until the fate of arms shall give her a master.

845.

While the three brothers tear in pieces the bosom of the empire, the Normans continue to lay waste the frontiers with impunity. At length the three brothers sign the famous treaty of partition, terminated at Coblentz by an hundred and twenty deputies. Lotharius remains emperor. He possesses Italy, part of Burgundy, the course of the Rhine, the Scheld and the Meuse. Lewis of Bavaria keeps all the rest of Germany. Charles, afterwards surnamed the Bald, is king of France. The emperor renounces all authority over these two brothers. Thus he is no more than emperor of Italy, without being master of Rome. All the great officers and noblemen of the three kingdoms, acknowledged by an authentic act, the division of the three brothers, and the succession entailed upon their children.

Pope Sergius II. is elected by the Roman people, and takes possession of the chair, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor Lotharius. That prince is not powerful enough to revenge the affront, but sends his son Lewis to Rome to confirm the pope's election, in order to preserve his right, and that the youth may be crowned king of the Lombards or of Italy. He likewise procures a regulation at Rome in an assembly of bishops, importing that no pope shall be consecrated without the confirmation of the emperor.

Mean while, Lewis in Germany, is obliged to fight, sometimes with the Huns, sometimes with the Normans, and sometimes with the Bohemians,

hemians. These Bohemians, together with the Silesians and Moravians, were idolatrous barbarians who made incursions upon the Christian barbarians with various success.

The emperor Lotharius and Charles *the bald* have still more to suffer in their dominions. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer know whom to obey.

There is a faction raised in favour of a son of that unfortunate Pepin king of Aquitaine, who had been stripped by his father Lewis *the weak*. Several tyrants made themselves masters of several towns. Small battles were every where fought, and in these there was always a number of monks, abbots and bishops, slain sword in hand. Hugues that son of Charlemagne, who was compelled to be a monk, afterwards abbot of St. Quentin, is killed before Toulouse, together with the abbot of Ferriere ; two bishops are there made prisoners. The Normans ravage the coasts of France. Charles *the bald* makes no other opposition to them, but an obligation to pay them fourteen thousand silver marks, which was a sure way of inviting them to return.

847.

The emperor Lotharius, no less unfortunate, cedes Friesland to the Normans, by the title of homage. This fatal custom of receiving enemies for vassals, paves the way for the settlement of those pirates of Normandy*.

848.

While the Normans ravaged the coasts of France, the Saracens entered Italy ; make them-

* Which pirates in a little time became a flourishing and a formidable people.

selves masters of Sicily, advance towards Rome by the mouth of the Tiber, and plunder the rich church of St. Peter without the walls.

Pope Leo IV. in such a dangerous conjuncture assuming an authority which the generals of the emperor Lotharius seemed to abandon, shews himself worthy in defending Rome to command as sovereign in that city. He had employed the riches of the church, in repairing the walls, building towers, and stretching chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaietta to come and defend the coast of Ostia, without neglecting the wise precaution of taking hostages from them; well knowing that those who are powerful enough to succour us, have also the power to do us harm. He in person visited all the posts, and received the Saracens at their descent, not in the equipage of a warrior, like Goslin bishop of Paris, upon a still more pressing occasion; but as a pontif who exhorted a Christian people, and a king who watched over the safety of his subjects. In him the courage of the first ages of the republic revived in the age of cowardice and corruption, like a fair monument of Rome, which is sometimes found in the ruins of the new.

The Arabians are defeated, and the prisoners employed in building a new wall round St. Peter's, and in aggrandising the city which they came to destroy.

Lotharius associates his son Lewis in his feeble empire. The Mussulmans are driven from Beneventum, but they remain in the Guarillan and in Calabria.

849.

New discord among the brothers, and among the bishops and noblemen, which renders the people still more unhappy. Some Franc, and German bishops declare the emperor Lotharius has forfeited the empire. They had no right to make this declaration, either as bishops, or Germans and Francs, seeing he was only emperor of Italy. It was therefore a fruitless outrage. Lotharius was happier than his father.

850. 851. 852.

A reconciliation is effected among the three brothers. The empire is harrassed by the new incursions of all the barbarians bordering upon the empire.

In the midst of these horrors, the missionary Ansharius bishop of Hamburg persuades one Eric, chief, or duke, or king of Denmark, to allow the Christian religion in his dominions. He obtains the same permission in Sweden. But the Swedes and Danes, nevertheless, make incursions upon the Christians.

853. 854.

Amidst these desolations of France and Germany, the weakness of Italy, threatened by the Mussulmans, the misgovernment of Lewis of Italy, son of Lotharius, given up to debauchery at Pavia, and despised in Rome, the emperor of Constantinople negotiates with the pope for the recovery of Rome; but that emperor was no other than Michael still more debauched and despised than Lewis of Italy; and all these circumstances had no other effect than that of increasing the power of the pope.

855.

The emperor Lotharius, who had made his father Lewis *the weak* a monk, now makes him-

self a monk in his turn, induced by the troubles of his empire, the fear of death, and superstition. He takes the habit in the abbey of Prum, and on the 18th of September dies like a simpleton, after having lived as a tyrant.



LEWIS II.

FOURTH EMPEROR.

856.

AFTER the death of this third emperor of the West, new kingdoms arose in Europe. Lewis of Italy, his eldest son, remains at Pavia, with the vain title of emperor of the West. The second son called Lotharius after his father, has the kingdom of Lotharingia afterwards called Lorrain, extended from Geneva to Strasbourg and Utrecht. The third, whose name was Charles, possessed Savoy, Dauphiny with part of Lionnois, Provence and Languedoc. These dominions composed the kingdom of Arles from the name of the capital, a city formerly opulent and embellished by the Romans, but then small and poor like all the other towns of this side of the Alps. In the flourishing times of the republic and in the reigns of the Cæsars, the Romans aggrandised and decorated the towns which they had subdued; but when left to themselves or to the barbarians, all of them went to wreck, and by their ruins attested the superiority of the Roman genius.

A barbarian called Solomon*, soon after made himself king of Britany, part of which was still pagan; but all these kingdoms fell almost as fast as they were raised.

857.

Lewis the Germanic begins by taking Alsace from the new king of Lorrain. He bestows privileges upon Strasbourg, already a powerful city, when there was nothing but villages in that part of the world on the other side of the Rhine. The Normans desolate France. Lewis the Germanic takes that opportunity to come and overwhelm his brother, instead of assisting him against the barbarians. He defeats him near Orleans. The bishops of France in vain excommunicate him: he resolves to make himself master of France. The remains of the Saxons and other barbarians who invade Germany, obliges him to come and defend his own dominions.

From 858 to 865.

Lewis II. the phantom of an emperor in Italy, takes no share in all these troubles, leaves the popes to strengthen their own power, and dares not reside at Rome.

* This ruffian murdered his own cousin, Hanspogus duke of Brittany, at the altar; usurped his dukedom, which he found means to raise into a kingdom, by the permission of Charles the Bald, to whom he did good service. But afterwards, quarrelling with his clergy, they excited a rebellion against him, and he fled to the altar for protection, where he found it not. Perceiving his death inevitable, he came forth, and was murdered by the insurgents. The people of Brittany, in the sequel, adored him as a saint.

Charles

Charles the Bald of France and Lewis the Germanic make peace, because they could no longer make war. The most memorable event of that time relates to the amours of Lotharius king of Lorrain: that prince was willing to imitate Charlemagne, who repudiated his wives and married his concubines. He divorces his wife called Thietberge, daughter of a Burgundian nobleman. She is accused of adultery, and confesses the crime. He marries his mistress called Valdrade, who had been formerly promised to him as a wife: he procures the convocation of a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, which approves of his divorce from Thietberge. The decree of that council is confirmed by another at Metz, in presence of the pope's legates. Pope Nicholas I. annuls the councils of Metz and Aix-la-Coapelle, and exercises an authority hitherto unknown: he excommunicates and deposes some bishops who espouse the party of the king of Lorrain; and, finally, that king is compelled to quit the wife whom he loves, and to take back the other whom he could not love.

It were doubtless to be wished, that there was a sacred tribunal to apprize sovereigns of their duty, and make them blush for their violences. But there does not seem to be any reason for a monarch's submitting the secrets of his marriage-bed to the authority of a stranger, and the orientals appear to have always maintained customs more conformable to nature, and more favourable for the domestic peace of families, in considering all the fruits of love as legitimate, and in rendering those amours impenetrable to the eyes of the public,

In those times the descendants of Charlemagne were always by the ears together, and their kingdoms were always attacked by the barbarians.

Young Pepin, great grandson of Charlemagne, son of the deposed Pepin king of Aquitaine, who died without dominions, having for some time led a vagrant and unhappy life, joins the Normans, renounces the Christian religion, and finishes his career in being taken and shut up in a convent, where he dies.

866.

It is to this year chiefly that we can fix the schism which still continues between the Greek and Roman Churches. Neither Germany nor France intermeddled in the affair. The people were too miserable to mind those disputes, which are so interesting, during the leisure of peace.

Charles king of Arles dies without issue. The emperor Lewis and Lotharius divide his dominions.

It is a destiny fixed to the house of Charlemagne, that the children should take arms against their fathers. Lewis the Germanic had two sons. Lewis, the younger, dissatisfied with his portion, endeavours to dethrone him: his rebellion produces no other consequence than that of his asking pardon.

867.

868.

Lewis king of Germany defeats the Moravians and Bohemians by the hands of his sons. These are not victories which augment a state and help it to flourish. This was nothing but repelling savages to their forests and mountains.

869. The

869.

The excommunicated king of Lorrain goes to visit the new pope Adrian at Rome, dines with him, promises to leave off living with his mistress, and dies on his return, at Placentia.

Charles the Bald seizes Lorrain, and even Alsace, in despite of the right of the bastard of Lotharius, to whom his father had given that province. Lewis the Germanic had taken Alsace from Lotharius, but it was restored; Charles the Bald took, but did not restore it.

870.

Lewis of Germany wants to have Lorrain; Lewis of Italy, the emperor, has the same inclination, and engages pope Adrian in his interest. No regard is paid either to the emperor or pope. Lewis of Germany and Charles the Bald divide all the dominions comprehended under the name of Lorrain in two equal parts. The Western falls to the king of France, and the Eastern to the king of Germany. Pope Adrian threatens excommunication. They had already begun to make use of these arms; but they were despised: the emperor of Italy was not powerful enough to render them formidable.

871.

This emperor of Italy could scarce get the better of a duke of Beneventum, who being at the same time vassal of the empires of the East and West, would obey neither the one nor the other, and indeed kept the balance equal between them.

The emperor Lewis ventures to go to Beneventum, and is put in prison by the duke; the very same adventure that afterwards happened to Lewis XI. with the duke of Burgundy.

F 5

872.



872.

873.

Pope John VIII. who succeeded Adrian II. seeing the precarious situation of the emperor's health, privately promises the imperial crown to Charles the Bald of France, and sells that promise for a good price. This is the same John VIII. who paid such respect to the patriarch Photius, suffering him to be named before himself in a council at Constantinople.

The Moravians, Huns, and Danes, continue to harass Germany; and that vast extent of dominion cannot as yet have the benefit of good laws.

874.

France was not more happy. Charles the Bald had a son called Carloman, whom he had ordered to be shaved in his infancy, and created a deacon against his own inclination. At length he fled for refuge to Metz, in the dominions of his uncle Lewis of Germany, where he levies troops; but being taken, his father orders his eyes to be put out, according to the new fashion.

875.

The emperor Lewis II. dies at Milan. His brother Charles the Bald, king of France, passes the Alps, secures the passes against his brother Lewis of Germany, hastens to Rome, lavishes away his money, is proclaimed king of the Romans by the people, and crowned by the pope.

If the Salique law had been in force in the family of Charlemagne, the empire must have belonged to the eldest branch of the house of Lewis the Germanic; but a number of troops, expedition, condescension, and a sum of money, constituted the right of Charles the Bald, and thereby he debased his own dignity to enjoy it. Pope John VIII. conferred the crown

as sovereign; Charles the Bald received it as a vassal, acknowledging that he held every thing of the pope, leaving to the successors of that pontif the power of bestowing the empire, and promising to have always near him a vicar of the holy see, to determine all ecclesiastical affairs of consequence. The archbishop of Sens was in that quality, primate of Gaul and Germany; a title become altogether useless.

Assuredly the popes had reason to believe themselves vested with the right of bestowing the empire, and even of selling it, seeing they found people to ask and to purchase it of their hands, and seeing Charlemagne himself had received the title of emperor from pope Leo III. But we have likewise reason to say, that Leo III. in declaring Charlemagne emperor, had declared him his master; and that prince having taken the rights attached to his dignity, it was the privilege of his successors to confirm the popes, not to be elected by them. Time, occasion, custom, prescription, and power, are the foundation of all right.

CHARLES THE BALD.

FIFTH EMPEROR.

CHARLES causes himself to be crowned at Pavia, king of Lombardy, by the bishops, counts, and abbots of that country. "We elect you (as it is said in that act) with unanimous consent, seeing you have been raised to the imperial throne by the intercession of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and their vicar John, sovereign pontif." &c.

876.

Lewis of Germany falls upon France, in order to revenge himself upon his brother for having prevented him from buying the empire: but death overtook him in the execution of his vengeance.

The custom (which leads men by the nose) at that time, was for princes to weaken their dominions in sharing them among their children. Accordingly Lewis the Germanic divided his dominions among his three sons. To Carloman he gave Bavaria, Carinthia, and Pannonia; to Lewis, Friesland, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; and Charles the Gross, or the Fat, afterwards emperor, had the half of Lorrain, with Suabia and the neighbouring countries, at that time called Germany.

877.

This division renders the emperor Charles the Bald more powerful; and he is resolved to seize that half of Lorrain which is not in his possession. Here follows an example of the excessive superstition at that time joined to rapaciousness and deceit. Lewis of Germany sends thirty men to the camp of Charles the Bald, to prove, in the name of God, that his part of Lorrain of right belongs to him. Ten of these thirty confessors take up ten rings and ten flints out of a cauldron of boiling water without being scalded; the same number carry each a red hot iron the space of nine feet without being burnt; and the last ten, being tied with cords, are thrown into cold water, and sink to the bottom; a sure proof of a righteous cause; for water expels those who are perjured, to the surface.

History is so full of those proofs, that we can hardly deny the whole as apocryphal. Custom, which made them common, rendered also those arts common which make the skin for some time insensible to the action of fire, such as oil of vitriol, and other corrosives *. With regard to the miracle of going to the bottom of the water into which they were thrown, it would have been a greater miracle, had they floated on the surface.

Lewis would not confine himself to this ceremony. He engaged near Cologne with the emperor his uncle, who being defeated, retired to Italy †, whither he was pursued by the conqueror.

Rome was then threatened by the Mussulmans, who were still cantoned in Calabria. Carloman, that king of Bavaria, leagued with his brother of Lorrain, pursues his uncle the Bald into Italy, who finds himself at one time hard beset by his nephew, by the Mahometans,

* They are said to have besmeared their hands with a preparation of liquid storax, which defended them against the action of the fire; but, in all probability, the deception lay in the water and the iron; the first did not boil, and the other was not red hot.

† From what M. de Voltaire says here and a little after, one would imagine Charles the Bald fled to Italy immediately after the battle; but this was not the case. He first retired into France, in order to oppose the Normans, who had entered the Seine with a powerful fleet; then he fell dangerously ill, and was scarce recovered when the pope pressed him to march to his assistance. In the mean time he convened an assembly of the nobility and prelates, to concert measures for the defence of his dominions, declared his only son Lewis regent of the kingdom, and appointed a council to assist him to govern the state in his father's absence.

and

and the intrigues of the Pope; and dies in October, at a village near Mount Cenis.

Historians say he was poisoned by his physician, a Jew, whose name was Sedecias. Certain it is, the Christian part of Europe was then so ignorant, that kings were obliged to employ Jews or Arabians for their physicians.

It is in the reign of Charles the Bald that the great foedal government began, and all things went to decay. It was under him that many possessors of great military offices, duchies, marquises, and countships, attempted to make these honours hereditary.



LEWIS III. OR THE STAMMERER.

SIXTH EMPEROR.

878.

POPE John VIII. who thinks he had a right to nominate an emperor, can scarcely support himself in Rome. He promises the empire to Lewis the Stammerer, king of France, son of the Bald. He promises it to Carloman of Bavaria; and engages himself to one Lambert duke of Spoleto, a vassal of the empire.

This Lambert of Spoleto finding himself deceived by the pope, joins a marquis of Tuscany, enters Rome, seizes his holiness; but is afterwards obliged to release him. One Boson, duke of Arles, likewise pretends to the empire.

The Mahometans were nearer the conquest of Rome than all their competitors. The pope agrees to pay them an annual tribute of twenty thousand marks of silver. Anarchy prevails in Germany, France, and Italy.

C H A R L E S I I I . I I I

Lewis the Stammerer dies at Compeigne on the 10th of April. He is put in the list of emperors, only because he was son of a prince who fwayed the imperial sceptre.

C H A R L E S I I I . O R T H E G R O S S .

S E V E N T H E M P E R O R .

897.

THE business was to make an emperor and a king of France. Lewis the Stammerer left two children of fourteen and fifteen years of age. It was not then a decided point whether or not an infant or minor could be king. Several new noblemen of France offered the crown to Lewis of Germany. He took no more than the Western part of Lorrain, which had been the share of Charles the Bald. Lewis and Carloman, the two sons of the Stammerer, are acknowledged kings of France, although they are not unanimously acknowledged as legitimate children; but Boson caused himself to be consecrated king of Arles, augments his territory, and claims the empire. Charles the Gross, king of the country still called Germany, presses the pope to crown him emperor. The pope answers that he will bestow the imperial crown upon him who shall first come to his assistance against the Christians and Mahometans.

880.

Charles the Gross, king of Germany, Lewis king of Bavaria and Lorrain, unite with the king of France against Boson the new king of Arles, and make war upon him. They besiege
Vienne.

Vienne in Dauphiny; but Charles the Gross marches from Vienne to Rome.

881.

Charles is crowned and consecrated emperor by pope John VIII. in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas day.

882.

His brother Lewis, king of Bavaria, Pannonia, what was called Eastern France, and the two Lorrains, dies on the 20th of January in that same year, without issue. The emperor Charles the Gross was natural heir of his dominions; but the Normans presented themselves in order to share in them. These frequent troubles of the North render the imperial power very problematic in Rome, where ancient liberty still thrusts out new roots: It was not known who should reign in that ancient capital of Europe, whether it should be the people, the bishop, or an emperor who was a stranger.

The pope sends him a branch of palm, according to custom; but it was the only palm he obtained.

The Normans penetrate as far as Metz; they go and burn Aix-la Chapelle, and destroy all the works of Charlemagne. Charles the Gross can find no other way of being delivered from them, than that of seizing all the plate belonging to the churches, and giving them 4160 marks of silver, with which they went away to fit out new armaments.

883.

The empire was become so weak, that pope Martin II. who succeeded John VIII. begins with making a solemn decree, by which they were no longer to wait for the emperor's orders

in

in electing popes. The emperor in vain complains of this decree. He had abundance of other affairs upon his hands.

A certain duke called Zwentibold laid waste Germany, at the head of the Moravian pagans. The emperor made peace with him as with the Normans. It is not known whether or not he had money to give him; but he acknowledged him as prince and vassal of the empire.

884

Great part of Italy is still laid waste by the duke of Spoleto and the Saracens, which last plunder the rich abbey of Monte Cassini, and carry off all its treasure; but a duke of Beneventum had been beforehand with them.

Charles the Gross marches into Italy to put a stop to these disorders. But scarce is he arrived when, hearing of the death of his two nephews, the young kings of France, he repasses the Alps in order to claim the succession.

885.

Behold then Charles the Gross, who reunites upon his head all the crowns of Charlemagne, which, however, he was not strong enough to bear.

A bastard of Lotharius, called Hugues, abbot of St. Denis, had for a long time laid a scheme for having Lorraine as his patrimony. He engages in a league with a Norman to whom Friesland had been ceded, and who marries his sister; and he calls other Normans to his assistance.

The emperor stifled this conspiracy. A count of Saxony called Henry, and an archbishop of Cologne, undertake to assassinate this Norman duke of Friesland in a conference. The abbot Hugues is apprehended in Lorraine on the same pre-

pretext, and the custom of putting out eyes is revived upon him.

He had better engaged the Normans with good armies. These, finding themselves attacked by perfidy alone, penetrate from Holland into Flanders, pass the Somme and the Oise without resistance, take and burn Pontose, and arrive at Paris by land and water. That city, which is now so immense, was then neither large, strong, nor populous. The tower of the great chatelet was not yet entirely built when the Normans appeared: they were obliged to finish it in a hurry with wood; so that the lower part was of stone, and the upper of carpenter's work,

The Parisians, who expected at that time an irruption of the Barbarians, did not abandon the city as heretofore. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whose valour afterwards raised him to the throne of France, put the town in such order, as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi chief of the Normans, carried on the siege with obstinate fury, though not destitute of art. The Normans used the ram to batter the walls, effected a breach, and gave three assaults, which the Parisians sustained with unshaken courage: they had at their head not only count Eudes, but also their bishop Gossin, who every day, after having bestowed his benediction, posted himself at the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his belt, and fought in sight of the cross, which he planted on the rampart. This bishop seems to have had at least as much authority in the city as count Eudes, seeing it was
to

to him that Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, first addressed himself for permission to enter Paris. This prelate died of fatigue in the middle of the siege, leaving his memory respected and regretted; for tho' he armed those hands which his religion reserved solely for the ministry of the altar, he armed them in defence of that very altar, and of his countrymen, in the justest of all causes; namely, necessary self-preservation, which is always above the laws.

His brethren were armed only in civil wars, and against Christians. Perhaps, if canonization is due to some men, it would have been better to raise that prelate to heaven who fought and died for his country, than a great many obscure men, whose virtue, if they had any, was useless to the world.

886.

The Normans kept Paris besieged a whole year and a half. The Parisians experienced all the horrors attending famine and contagion in a long siege, and still were unshaken. At the end of that period, the emperor Charles the Gross, king of France, came at length to their relief, and appeared on the mount of Mars, now called Mont-Martre*; but he durst not attack the Normans: he came only to buy another shameful truce. Those Barbarians quit Paris to go and besiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy, while Charles goes to Germany to assemble those diets which deprived him of a throne of which he was so unworthy.

The Normans continue their devastations; but, although enemies of the Christian name,

* In the neighbourhood of Paris.

it never came into their minds to force any person whatever to renounce Christianity. They resembled the Franks, the Goths, the Alains, the Huns, the Heruli, who, in the fourth century, being in quest of new settlements, far from imposing their religion upon the conquered Romans, adopted with great ease the religion of the vanquished. Thus the Turks, while they plundered the empire of the caliphs, submitted themselves to the Mahometan religion.

887.

There was nothing wanting to Charles the Gross, but to be unhappy in his family : contemned in the empire, he was said to be likewise despised by his empress Richarda. She was accused of infidelity ; and he repudiated her, although she offered to justify herself by the judgment of God. He sent her to the abbey of Andelau, which she herself had founded, in Alsace.

Charles was afterwards prevailed upon (contrary to the custom of the times) to adopt the son of his enemy Boson, that king of Arles. By that time his brain is said to have been affected, and certainly it was ; seeing, that, although he possessed as many dominions as Charlemagne, he brought himself to such a pass as to lose all without making any resistance. He is dethroned in a diet near Mentz.

888.

The deposition of Charles the Gross is a spectacle which merits great attention. Was he deposed by those who had elected him ? Could a few Thuringian, Saxon, and Bavarian noblemen, assembled in a village called Tribur, dispose of the Roman empire and the king-

kingdom of France? No, sure; but they could renounce their allegiance to a prince, to a chief who did not deserve to reign. They therefore abandoned the grandson of Charlemagne for a bastard of Carloman, son of Lewis the German: this bastard, called Arnold, they declare king of Germany. Charles the Gros dies destitute near Constance, Jan. 8, in the year 888.

The fate of Italy, France, and so many other states, was then uncertain.

The right of succession was every where little regarded. Charles the Gros himself had been crowned king of France, to the prejudice of a posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer; and in contempt of the rights of that same son, the French noblemen chose for their king Eudes count of Paris.

One Rodolphus, son of another count of Paris, makes himself king of Transjurane Burgundy.

This son of Boson king of Arles, adopted by Charles the Gros, becomes king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother.

The empire was now no more than a phantom; nevertheless, they were desirous of seizing that phantom, which the name of Charlemagne still rendered venerable. This pretended empire, which took the appellation of Roman, ought to have been bestowed at Rome. One Gui duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius duke of Friuli, disputed the name and rank of the Cæsars. Gui of Spoleto caused him to be crowned at Rome. Berengarius assumes the vain title of King of Italy, and by a singularity worthy of the confusion of those times, comes to Langres, in order to be crowned king of Italy in Champagne.

It

It was in the midst of these troubles that all the noblemen cantoned themselves: every man fortified his own castle: great part of the towns are altogether without government: troops of banditti scour the country from one end of Europe to the other; and chivalry is established to restrain these robbers, and to defend ladies, or carry them off.

889.

Several bishops of France, and the archbishop of Rheims in particular, offer the kingdom of France to the bastard Arnold, because he was descended from Charlemagne; and they hated Eudes, who had none of that blood, except by the female side.

Eudes king of France goes to wait upon Arnold at Worms; cedes to him part of Lorraine, which was already in Arnold's possession; promises to acknowledge him as emperor, and puts into his hands the crown and sceptre of France, which he had brought with him for that purpose. Arnold restores them, and acknowledges him king of France. This submission proves that the kings still considered themselves as vassals of the Roman empire. It likewise proves how much Eudes was afraid of the party which Arnold had in France.

890.

891.

The reign of Arnold in Germany is marked by unlucky events. The remains of the Saxons, intermingled with *Slaves* called Abodrites, inhabiting the districts towards the Baltick, between the Elbe and the Oder, ravage the North of Germany: the Bohemians, the Moravians, and other bodies of the *Slaves*, desolate the South, and defeat the troops of Arnold: the Huns
make

make incursions; the Normans renew their ravages; yet no conquest is established by so many invasions. These, though transient devastations, leave Germany in a very poor and miserable condition.

At length he in person defeats the Normans near Louvain; and Germany respires. The decay of Charlemagne's empire emboldens the feeble empire of the East. A patrician of Constantinople retakes the duchy of Beneventum with some troops, and threatens Rome: but as the Greeks were obliged to defend themselves against the Saracens, the conqueror of Beneventum could not march to the antient capital of the empire.

We have seen what reason Eudes king of France had to lay his crown at the feet of Arnold. It was his business to be well with all the world. The noblemen and bishops of France restore the crown to Charles the Simple, posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer, whom they invite from England, whither he had fled for refuge.

893.

As in these divisions king Eudes had implored the protection of Arnold, Charles the Simple comes to implore it in his turn at the diet of Worms. Arnold takes no step in his favour; but leaves him to dispute the kingdom of France, and marches into Italy, there to dispute the name of emperor with Gui of Spoleto, Lombardy with Berengarius, and Rome with the Pope.

894.

He besieges Pavia, in which was that emperor of Spoleto, who betakes himself to flight. He secures Lombardy. Berengarius conceals himself;

himself; but even at that time we see how difficult it was for the emperors to make themselves masters of Rome. Arnold, instead of marching to that capital, goes and holds a council at Mentz.

895.

Arnold, after this council, which was held with a view to conciliate the bishops, holds a diet at Worms, in order to procure fresh troops and money, and that his son Zentibold might be crowned king of Lombardy.

896.

Then he returns towards Rome. The Romans no longer desire an emperor; but they are incapable of defending themselves. Arnold attacks that part of the city called Leonini from the name of that famous pontif Leo IV. who had surrounded it with walls, and forces the palace. The rest of the city, on the other side of the Tiber, surrenders; and pope Formosa consecrates Arnold emperor in the church of St. Peter. The senators (for there was still a senate) next day take the oath of allegiance to him in the church of St. Paul. It was the equivocal oath: "I swear I will be faithful to the emperor, saving my fidelity to the Pope."

A R N O L D.

EIGHTH EMPEROR.

896.

A WOMAN of great courage, called Agiltrude, mother of that pretended emperor Goi of Spoleto, who had in vain armed Rome against Arnold, defends herself still against him.
He

He besieges her in the city of Fermo. Authors pretend that this heroine sent him a poisoned beverage, in order to soften his disposition, and that he was weak enough to drink it. It is incredible that he raised the siege; that he was sick; that he repassed the Alps with the wreck of his army; that he left Italy in greater confusion than ever; and that he returned to Germany, where he had lost all his authority in his absence.

897, 898, 896.

Germany was then in the same anarchy as France: the noblemen had fortified themselves in Lorrain, Alsace, the country now called Saxony, Bavaria, and Franconia: the bishop and abbots seize the rights of regality: they maintain protectors or captains, who swear fealty to them, and have lands for their service, and these sometimes protect and sometimes plunder them*. They were formerly the advocates of the monasteries; and when the convents became principalities, the protectors became noblemen.

The bishops and abbots of Italy were never on the same footing: first, because the Italian noblemen had more address, the cities were more powerful, and richer than the hamlets of Germany and France; and, lastly, because the church of Rome, though very ill conducted, would not suffer the other churches of Italy to be powerful.

Chivalry and the spirit of chivalry spreads over all the West. There is hardly any suit

* The same sort of adventurers who were afterwards hired in Italy, under the name of *Condottieri*.

decided but by champions ; the priests bless their arms ; and they are always obliged to swear, before they engage, that their arms are not enchanted, and that they have not made any compact with the devil.

Arnold the emperor, destitute of power, dies in Bavaria in the year 899. Some authors make him die of poison, others of the lousy disease ; but the lousy disease is a chimera *, and so is often the notion of poison.

900.

Confusion increases. Berengarius reigns in Lombardy, though in the midst of factions. That son of Boson made king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother, is by the same intrigues acknowledged emperor at Rome. Women then disposed of every thing ; they made emperors and popes, who, however, had nothing but the name.

Lewis IV. is acknowledged king of Germany : to this he joins Lorrain after the death of his brother Zuentibold, and is very little stronger for the acquisition.

From 901 to 907.

The Huns and Hungarians reunited, come and ravage Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, where one would think there was very little more to be got.

One Moimir, who had made himself duke of Moravia and a Christian, goes to Rome to demand bishops.

* We must beg our author's pardon ; the *morbus pediculosus* is unhappily no chimera. It proceeds from a certain depravity of the juices, which peculiarly adapt them for the generation of this vermin.

One Adelbert, marquis of Tuscany, famous for his wife Theodora, is despotic in Rome. Berengarius strengthens himself in Lombardy; ~~and~~ an alliance with the Huns, in order to hinder the new king of Germany from coming to Italy; makes war upon the pretended emperor of Arles; takes him prisoner; puts out his eyes; enters Rome, and compels pope John IX. to crown him emperor. The Pope, after having consecrated him, flies to Ravenna, and consecrates another emperor, called Lambert, son of the vagrant and needy duke of Spoleto, who assumes the title of Invincible and always August.

908, 909, 910, 911, 912.

Mean while Lewis IV. king of Germany, takes also the title of emperor: several authors give him the title; but Sigebert says, on account of the evils which in his time harassed Italy, he did not deserve the imperial benediction; the true reason is, that he was not powerful enough to cause himself to be acknowledged emperor: he had no share in the troubles which harassed Italy in his time.



L E W I S IV.

NINTH EMPEROR.

IN the reign of this strange emperor, Germany undergoes the most dismal desolation. The Huns, hired by Berengarius to come and ravage Germany, are afterwards hired by Lewis IV. to return to their own country. Two factions arise, headed by the dukes of Saxony and Franconia, and do more mischief than the Huns.

Huns. All the churches are plundered: the Hungarians return to have a share of the pillage. The emperor Lewis flies to Ratisbon, where he dies in the twentieth year of his age. This ended the race of Charlemagne in Germany.



C O N R A D I.

TENTH EMPEROR.

912.

THE German nobles assemble at Worms to elect a king. These were such as being the most interested in the choice of a prince, according to their mind, had power and credit enough to raise themselves to the rank of electors. The right of inheritance was, during this century, hardly acknowledged in Europe. Election, either free or influenced, prevailed almost every-where; witness those of Arnold in Germany, of Gui of Spoleto, of Berengarius in Italy, of Don Sancho in Arragon, of Eudes, Robert, Raoul, Hugues Capet in France, and of the emperors of Constantinople; for so many vassals and so many princes were desirous of having the right to choose a chief, and the hope of being chosen.

It is pretended that Otho duke of the new Saxony, was chosen by the diet, but that finding himself too old he himself proposed Conrad, duke of Franconia, though he was his own enemy, because he thought him worthy of the throne. This action is not at all in the spirit of those almost savage times. We find ambition, deceit, and courage in this as in all ages; but

but to begin even from Clovis, we find not one action of magnanimity *.

Conrad was never acknowledged emperor either in Italy or France. The Germans only accustomed to see emperors in their kings since Charlemagne, gave him, it is said, that title.

From 913 to 919.

The reign of Conrad makes no alteration in the state of Germany. He has wars with his vassals, and particularly with the son of that duke of Saxony to whom he is said to have owed the crown.

The Hungarians still make war upon Germany, and he is wholly ingrossed in repulsing them. During this period the French make themselves masters of Lorrain. If Charles had made that conquest, he would not have deserved the name of Simple; but he had ministers and generals of another stamp. He creates a duke of Lorrain.

The bishops of Germany confirm themselves in the possession of their fiefs. Conrad dies in the year 919, in the little town of Weilbourg. It is pretended that before his death he named Henry duke of Saxony for his successor, to the prejudice of his own brother. It is not very likely that he should think he had a right to choose a successor, or that he would have chosen his own enemy.

The name of this pretended emperor was not known in Italy, during his reign. Lombardy

* This is being too severe on human nature. Charlemagne, and others of that age, exhibited many proofs of magnanimity, which is not at all inconsistent with savage ferocity; but the milder virtues of humanity were not unfolded 'till long after this period.

226 HENRY THE FOWLER.

became a prey to divisions, Rome to the most horrible scandal, and Naples and Sicily to the devastations of the Saracens.

It was at this time that the prostitute Thedora at Rome * raised to the papal chair John X. who was as great a prostitute as herself.



HENRY THE FOWLER.

ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

920.

IT may be of consequence to observe, that in this time of anarchy, several handlets of Germany began to enjoy the rights of natural liberty, after the example of the Italian cities. Some purchased these rights of their lords, others had supported them sword in hand. The deputies of these towns concur with the bishops and noblemen, in order to choose an emperor, and are in the rank of electors. Thus Henry I. surnamed the Fowler, duke of Saxony, is elected by the three estates. Nothing is more natural than that all those who are concerned in being well governed should concur in establishing the government.

From 921 to 930.

One of the rights belonging to the kings of Germany, as well as to the kings of France, was always to fill the vacant Bishopricks:

* This woman was so powerful, by means of the marquis of Tuscany, that she kept possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and raised John, who was her gallant, to the papacy. — Her daughter Marofia equalled her mother in beauty, libertinism, and influence.

The

The emperor Henry has a short war with the duke of Bavaria, and puts an end to it by ceding to him the right of appointing bishops in his own dukedom.

These years produce very few events in which the fate of Germany is interested. The most important is the affair of Lorrain. It had been still undecided whether it should belong to Germany or France.

Henry the Fowler subdues all high and low Lorrain in the year 925, and wrests it from the hands of duke Gislebert, to whom it had been given by the kings of France. He afterwards restores it to that duke, that it might depend upon Germany. This Lorrain was no other than a dismembered part of the kingdom of Lotharingia. It was Brabant, part of the country of Liege, afterwards disputed by the bishop of Liege, with the lands between Metz and Franche Comté, disputed also by the bishop of Metz. This country in the sequel returned to France, from which it was afterwards separated again.

Henry enacts laws which are more interesting than the events and revolutions with which history is loaded. He extricates what could be extricated from the feudal anarchy. Vassals and under vassals consent to furnish soldiers and corn for their subsistence. He changes into cities the depopulated towns, which the Huns, Bohemians, Moravians and Normans had laid waste. He builds Brandenburg, Misnia, and Sleswick, where he settles marquises to guard the marches of Germany. He re-establishes the ruined abbeys of Herford and Corbie; and plans several cities, such as Gotha, Herfort, and Goslar.

The

128 HENRY THE FOWLER.

The ancient Saxons, *Slaves*, Abodrites, and their neighbours the Vandals are repulsed. His predecessor Conrad had consented to pay a tribute to the Hungarians, and hitherto it was paid by Henry the Fowler, who, in a little time, freed Germany from that disgrace.

From 930 to 936.

It is said, that when the Hungarian deputies came to demand their tribute, Henry gave them a mangy dog. It was a punishment inflicted upon German knights, when they had committed crimes, to carry a dog for the length of a league. This coarse custom, worthy of those times, does not at all detract from the greatness of their courage; true it is, the Hungarians come and do more mischief than the tribute would have cost; but at length they are repulsed and defeated.

Then he causes the towns to be fortified, as a check upon the barbarians; and leaves the ninth man in some provinces with which these towns are garrisoned. He exercises the nobility in jousts and a kind of tournaments: in one of these near a thousand gentlemen are said to have entered the lists.

These tournaments had been invented in Italy, by the Lombard kings, and were called *Bataglie*.

Having provided for the defence of Germany, he resolves at length to go to Italy, after the example of his predecessors, in order to receive the imperial crown.

The troubles and scandalous practices of Rome were increased. Marosia, daughter of Theodora had raised to St. Peter's chair the young John XI. produced by her adultery with
 pope

pope Sergius III. and governed the church in the name of her son. Of all the tyrants which overwhelmed Italy the Germans were most hated at Rome.

Henry the Fowler, reckoning upon his forces, thought to have made his advantage of those troubles; but he died upon the road in Thuringia in the year 936. The only reason for calling him emperor, is because he was desirous of receiving the imperial throne, and it was the custom to give him that appellation.



O T H O I. surnamed THE GREAT.

TWELFTH EMPEROR.

936.

AT length we come to a true emperor. The dukes, counts, bishops, abbots, and all the powerful noblemen assembled at Aix la Chapelle, elect Otho, son of Henry the Fowler. It is not mentioned that the deputies of the towns gave their votes. Perhaps the great noblemen having gained an acquisition of power under Henry the Fowler, had deprived the towns of this right.

The archbishop of Mentz signifies this election to the people, consecrates the new emperor, and sets the crown upon his head. It may be observed, that the prelates dine at the emperor's table; and that the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Lorrain, serve at table; the duke of Franconia, for example, in quality of steward, and the duke of Suabia as cup-bearer. This ceremony was performed in a wooden gallery, in the midst of the ruins of Aix la-Chapelle,

which had been burnt by the Huns, and was not yet rebuilt.

The Huns and Hungarians come again to interrupt the festival. They advance to Westphalia, but are repulsed.

937.

Bohemia was then intirely barbarous, and but one half Christian. Luckily for Otho, it is embroiled in civil wars, of which he takes the advantage as soon as possible. He renders Bohemia tributary to Germany, and there establishes Christianity.

938, 939, 940.

Otho endeavours to make himself despotic, and the noblemen of the great fiefs to render themselves independent. This great quarrel, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, still subsists in the minds of men, after a series of eight hundred years, as well as the quarrel between Rome and the empire.

This struggle between royal power, which always seeks increase, and liberty, which will not yield, hath for a long time agitated all the Christian part of Europe. It subsisted in Spain as long as the Christians had to fight with ~~the~~ Moors, after which the sovereign authority got uppermost. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. This that has at length established in England the mixed government to which she owes her greatness; and this that hath cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the slavery of the people. The same spirit hath troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republicks of Swisserland and Holland; and the same cause hath every where produced different effects.

The duke of Bavaria refusing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to some allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count palatine in Bavaria, and another count palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of Count Palatine is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Franks.

He bestows the same dignity upon a duke of Franconia. These palatines are at first supreme judges. They judge in the last appeal in the name of the emperor. This supreme resource of justice is, next to an army, the greatest support of sovereignty.

Otho disposes at pleasure of dignities and lands. The first marquis of Brandenburg dying without issue, he gives the marquisate to one count Gerard, who was not related to the defunct*.

The more Otho affects absolute power, the more he is opposed by the noblemen of the great fiefs: and from that very time begins the custom of having recourse to France to support the feudal government in Germany against the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lotrain and the prince of Brunswick address themselves to Lewis Ultramarine, king of France, who enters Lorraine and Alsace and joins the allies.

* At the diet at Arensburg, held about this time, it was debated whether children could inherit the effects of their fathers, while their grandfathers were still alive; as the point could not be determined any other way, it was referred to the combat trial: accordingly, an equal number of combatants being chosen on each side, entered the lists; and the champions of the children, having obtained the victory, the process was determined in their favour.

Otho anticipates the French king; and upon the Rhine near Brisach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorrain, who are slain in battle.

He deprives the house of Franconia of the title of Palatine; settles it upon the house of Baviaria, and annexes to it lands and castles. Thus formed the present palatinate of the Rhine.

941.

As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their assistance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, solicit the assistance of Otho. He pursues Lewis Ultramarine through the whole country of Champagne; but is recalled into Germany by conspiracies.

942, 943, 944.

The despotism of Otho alienates the minds of men to such a degree, that his own brother Henry, duke of one part of Lorrain, had united with several noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany, stifles the conspiracy, and pardons his brother, who was in all probability powerful enough to be intitled to that favour.

He augments the privileges of bishops and abbots, in order to oppose them to the noblemen. He bestows the title of prince, with all the rights of regality, upon the bishop of Triers. He gives the duchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry, who had conspired against him, and leaves the natural heirs quite destitute. This is the greatest proof of his absolute power.

945. 949.

At that time the race of Charlemagne, which still reigned in France, was reduced to the lowest state of degradation. They had in 912 ceded Neustria

Neustria properly so called to the Normans, and even Brittany, which then became an under-fief of France.

Hugues, duke of the isle of France, of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line, father of Hugh^e Capet, son-in-law by his first marriage to Edward I. king of England *, and brother-in-law of Otho by his second marriage, was one of the most powerful noblemen in Europe, and the king of France at that time one of the most inconsiderable. This Hugues had recalled Lewis Ultramarine to crown and serve him, and was called Hugues or Hugh the Great, because he had made himself powerful at the expence of his master.

He was allied with the Normans who had made the unfortunate Ultramarine prisoner. That king, released from captivity, was left almost without towns or territory. He was likewise brother-in-law of Otho, whose sister he had married. He demands his protection, in consequence of ceding all his rights over Lorrain.

Otho marches to the neighbourhood of Paris, besieges Rouen, but being abandoned by the count of Flanders, returns to his own dominions after a fruitless expedition.

947, 948.

Otho being unable to conquer Hugh the Great, causes him to be excommunicated. He convokes a council at Triers, where the pope's legate pronounces the sentence at the desire of

* This Edward must not be confounded with *Long Shanks*, commonly called Edward I. He was of the Saxon race, and son of the renowned Alfred, a prince not unworthy of such a father.

Otho's chief almoner. Nevertheless Hugh continues master in France.

There was, we have seen, a margrave at Sleswick, in the Cimbrique Chersonesus, to check the incursions of the Danes. They retake this margrave. Otho hastens thither, retakes the town, secures the frontiers; makes peace with Denmark on condition that Christianity should be preached in that country.

949.

From thence Otho goes to hold a council at Ingelheim, near Mentz. Lewis Ultramarine, who had no army, demanded this council of pope Agapetus; a poor resource against Hugh the Great.

There the German bishops and Marini the pope's legate appear as judges, Otho as protector, and Lewis of France as a suppliant. Lewis demands justice, and says: "I have been acknowledged king by the suffrages of all the noblemen. If it is pretended that I have committed some crime which merits the treatment I suffer, I am ready to take my trial before the council, according to Otho's order; or I will maintain my innocence in single combat."

This miserable address proves the custom of duels; the deplorable condition of the king of France, the power of Otho, and the election of kings. The right of blood seemed then no more than a recommendation to obtain votes. Hugh the Great is summoned to this vain council; though nobody supposed he would appear.

950.

Otho gives the investiture of Suabia, Augsb-
burg, Constance, and Wirtenberg to his son Lu-
dolphus, "saving the rights of the bishops."

951. Otho

951.

Otho returns to Bohemia; defeats the duke Bol, who is called Boleslaus. The word *Slas* among these people signified chief. From hence they were first called *Slaves*, which name in the sequel fell to those whom they had conquered. The emperor confirms the vassalage of Bohemia, and there establishes the Christian religion. All beyond was still pagan, except some marches of Germany. From that time he resolved to renew the empire of Charlemagne; and a woman paved the way.

Adelaide *, sister of a petty king of transjuran Burgundy, widow of the king or usurper of the kingdom of Italy, being oppressed by another usurper Berengarius II. who besieges her in Canossa, calls Otho to her aid. Thither he marches, delivers, and being then a widower, marries this princess. He enters Pavia in triumph with Adelaide: but it required both time and diligence to subdue the rest of the kingdom, and especially Rome, which would by no means submit to him.

952.

He leaves his army to a prince called Conrad, his own son-in-law, whom he had made duke of Lorrain; and, what was very common in those times, goes to hold a council at Augsburg instead of pursuing his conquests. There were Italian bishops at that council: perhaps he had no other view in this, but to dispose people to receive him in Italy.

953.

His marriage with Adelaide, which ought to have secured him in the possession of Italy,

* She is generally denominated *Alix*.

was like to have made him lose it in a very little time.

His son Ludolphus, to whom he had given so many dominions, but who was afraid that his mother-in-law would give him a master, sends his son-in-law Conrad, to whom he had given Lorrain, but from whom he had taken the command in Italy, conspire against him; an archbishop of Mentz, and a bishop of Augs- burg join these confederates; he marches against his son, and, instead of making himself emperor at Rome, is obliged to maintain a civil war in Germany.

954.

His unnatural son calls the Hungarians to his assistance; and it costs him abundance of trouble to repel them from the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Cologne, whether they had advanced.

Otho had a brother called Bruno, an ecclesiastic, whom he procures to be elected archbishop of Cologne, and to whom he gives Lorrain.

955.

The arms of Otho prevail. His sons and their adherents ask pardon; the archbishop of Mentz returns to his duty. The king's son deviates from it again: at length he comes barefoot and throws himself at his father's feet. The Hungarians, whom he called in, far from following his example in asking forgiveness, lay waste the country. Otho gives them battle, and defeats them at Augsburg: he seems to have been strong enough to defeat, but not to pursue and destroy them; although his army

was composed of legions formed after the model of the ancient Roman legions.

The fears of the son of Otho are realized. Adelaide is delivered of a prince, who is

From 956 to 960.

The designs upon Rome ripen, but the affairs of Germany prevent their being disclosed. The *Slaves* and other Barbarians deluge the North of Germany, as yet but very ill secured in spite of all the cares of Otho. Inconsiderable wars towards Luxemburg and Hainault, which belonged to Lower Lorrain, continue still to employ his arms.

Ludolphus, that son of Otho who was sent into Italy against Berengarius, dies in that country, either of the plague or of poison.

Berengarius was then absolute master of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, though not at Rome. But he necessarily had a thousand quarrels with her, like the ancient Lombard kings.

A son of Marosia, called Octavian Sporca, was elected pope at the age of eighteen, by the credit of his family. He takes the name of John XII. in memory of his uncle John XI. This is the first pope who changed his name at his accession to the pontificate. He was not even in orders when his family made him pontif. He was a young man who lived like a prince, and was a lover of arms and pleasure.

It is surprising, that, under so many scandalous popes, the Roman church lost neither her prerogatives nor pretensions; but at that time almost all the other churches were governed in this manner. The bishops having always something to ask of Rome, either orders or favours, did

did not abandon their interest for a few scandalous practices more than usual; and it was their interest to be always united to the Roman church, because that union was respected by the people, and in the eyes of the sovereigns. The energy of Italy might then despise the popes; but they revered the papacy the more, as they aspired to that exalted station: finally, in the opinion of mankind, the place was sacred even when the person was damnable.

The Italians at length call Otho to their assistance: they wanted (says Luitprand, a cotemporary writer) to have two masters, that they might not have one in reality. This is one of the principal causes of the long miseries of Italy.

960.

Otho, before he sets out for Italy, takes care to have his son Otho, born of Adelaide, though but in the seventh year of his age, elected king of Germany. A new proof that the right of succession did not exist. He takes the precaution of causing him to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, and Triers, assembled for that purpose. The archbishop of Cologne performs the function first; this was Bruno, the brother of Otho.

961.

He passes the Alps of the Tirol; once more enters Pavia, which always falls to the first occupier; and receives the crown of Lombardy at Monza.

962.

While Berengarius flies with his family, Otho marches to Rome; and the gates are opened to him. John XII. crowns him emperor. He confirms

firm the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Weak. He takes the pope's oath of allegiance on the body of St. Peter; and ordains that there shall be always commissaries of the emperor at Rome.

This instrument, written in letters of gold, subscribed by seven bishops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and several Italian prelates, is still kept in the castle of St. Angelo. The date is of the 13th of February, in the year 962. Lotharius king of France, and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, are said to have been present at this coronation. These kings of France were indeed so weak, that they might have served as ornaments at the consecration of an emperor; but the names of Lotharius and Hugh Capet are not found in the signatures of this act.

All that was then done at Rome concerning the churches of Germany, was to erect Magdeburg into an archbishop's see, and Merzburg into a bishoprick, for the conversion of the Slaves, that is, the people who inhabited Moravia, part of Brandenburg, Silesia, &c.

Scarce had the pope given himself a master, when he repented of what he had done. He leagues with that same Berengarius who had fled for refuge among the Mahometans cantoned upon the coast of Provence, and solicits the Hungarians to enter Germany; this was the step he ought to have taken before.

963.

The emperor Otho having finished the conquest of Lombardy, returns to Rome. He assembles a council. Pope John XII. hides himself. He is accused in full council in the church
of

of St. Peter of having committed fornication with several women, particularly with one called Etienetta, his father's concubine; of having conferred the bishoprick of Lodi upon ~~himself~~ of years; of having sold ordination; of having put out the eyes of ~~his~~ ~~father~~; of having first castrated, and then put to death a cardinal; and lastly of not believing in Jesus Christ, and of having invoked the devil; two articles that seem to contradict one another.

This young pontiff, who was then but seven and twenty, was said to be deposed for his incests and scandalous practices; but the true reason was his having endeavoured, like all the Romans, to destroy the German power in Rome.

A new pope, called Leo VIII. is elected in his room. Otho was not able to secure the person of John XII. or, if he was, he committed a great error.

964.

The new pope Leo VIII. if we may believe the discourse of Arnold bishop of Orleans, was neither an ecclesiastic, nor even a Christian.

John XII. a debauched pope, but an enterprising prince, excites an insurrection of the Romans, from the recesses of his retreat; and while Otho goes to besiege Camerino, the pontiff, assisted by his mistress, re-enters Rome. He deposes his competitor, orders the right-hand of cardinal John to be cut off, because it had written the deposition against him: opposes council to council, and enacts a statute, importing that "an inferior shall never have power to deprive his superior of his rank;" or, in other words, that no emperor shall ever have power to depose a pope.

a pope. He flatters himself with the hope of driving the Germans from Italy; but, in the midst of his great design, he is assassinated in the embraces of one of his mistresses.

He had animated the Romans, and raised their courage to such a pitch, that even after his death they ventured to support a siege, and did not surrender to Otho until reduced to the last extremity.

Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, orders it to be declared in council, that “after the example of the blessed Adrian, who gave to Charlemagne the right of electing popes and investing all bishops, the same rights were given to the emperor Otho.” This title, still extant in Gratian’s collection, is suspected; but, that which is not suspected, is the great care the victorious emperor took to secure himself in the possession of all his rights.

After so many oaths, the emperors ought to have resided at Rome to enforce the observation of them.

965.

He returns to Germany. He finds all Lorraine in rebellion against his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who at that time governed in Lorraine. He is obliged to abandon Triers, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to their respective bishops. High Lorraine falls into the hands of a count of Bar, and this country alone is what we now call Lorraine. Bruno reserves no more than the provinces of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld. This Bruno was a learned man, as much detached from grandeur as his brother Otho the emperor was ambitious.

The house of Luxemburg takes that name from the castle of Luxemburg, which they received

ceived in exchange from an abbot of St. Maximin in Triers.

The Poles begin to embrace Christianity.
966.

Scarce was the emperor Otho in Germany, when the Romans resolve to be free. They expel pope John XIII. who was attached to the emperor. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes, and the senate, think to revive the ancient republic. But that which at one time was an enterprize of heroes, at another season becomes a seditious insurrection. Otho flies back to Italy, and orders one half of the senate to be hanged. The prefect of Rome, who wanted to be another Brutus, was scourged in the public street, carried in procession naked upon an ass, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died in extreme misery. These executions do not at all recommend the German government to the Italians.

967.

The emperor sends for his young son Otho to Rome, and associates him in the empire.

968.

He negotiates with Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the Greeks, a match between his own son and that emperor's daughter. The Greek deceives him; and Otho deprives him of Apulia and Calabria, by way of dower to the young princess Theophania, whom, however, he has not in his power.

969.

To this year almost all the chronologists place the adventure of Otho, archbishop of Mentz, who was besieged in a tower in the middle of the Rhine by an army of mice that swam the river

river and devoured him. Probably those who still had history with such childish trifles, have no other design than that of leaving upon record those ancient monuments of weak superstition, to shew from what darkness Europe is scarce delivered.

970.

John Zimiffes, who dethrones the emperor Nicephorus, sends at length the princess Theophania to Otho, for his son : almost all authors agree that Otho had Apulia and Calabria with that princess : but the learned and exact Gian-noni has proved that he never received that rich dower.

971, 972, 973.

Otho returns victorious to Saxony, which was his native country.

The duke of Bohemia, vassal of the empire, invades Moravia, which becomes an appendage to Bohemia.

A bishop is established at Prague. He is nominated by the duke of Bohemia, and consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz.

At that time the archbishops of Magdebourg laid the foundation of their power. The title of metropolitan of the North, and their extensive territories were one day to make them great princes.

Otho dies at Minleben, May 7th, 973, with the glory of having re-established the empire of Charlemagne in Italy. But Charles was the avenger of Rome ; Otho, the conqueror and oppressor ; nor had his empire such vast and firm foundations, as that of Charlemagne.

O T H O II.

THIRTEENTH EM.

974.

IT plainly appears that emperors and kings were now made by election. Otho II. having been already elected emperor and king of Germany, contents himself with being proclaimed at Magdebourg by the clergy and nobility of the country, which composed a middling assembly.

The despotism of the father, the fear of absolute power, perpetuated in one family ; but, above all, the ambition of Henry duke of Bavaria, Otho's cousin, induces one third of Germany to rebel.

Henry of Bavaria causes himself to be crowned emperor by the bishop of Frisingen. Poland and Denmark espouse his party, not as members of Germany and the empire, but as neighbours whose interest it was to disturb its peace.

975.

The party of Otho II. is the first that arms, and by this diligence he preserves the empire. His troops surmount the intrenchments which separated Denmark from Germany, and which serve no other purpose than that of demonstrating the weakness of that nation.

He enters Bohemia, which had declared for Henry of Bavaria ; he marches to the duke of Poland, who is said to have taken the oath of allegiance to Otho as a vassal.

It is to be observed, that all these oaths were taken on the knee, with the hands joined together.

ther, and thus the bishops administered the oath to kings.

976.

Henry of Bavaria being abandoned, is imprisoned at Quilichbourg; and from thence exiled to Elrick, with the bishop of Augsbourg, who was his partisan.

977.

The limits of Germany and France were then very uncertain. There was no longer any mention made of Eastern and Western France. The kings of Germany extended their territorial superiority as far as the confines of Champagne and Picardy. By territorial superiority we must not understand a direct dominion or possession of lands, but the superiority of the lands, the right of paramount, and of fine. In the sequel, this expression of territorial superiority, hath, by mere ignorance of the terms, been applied to the actual possession of the domains which hold of the empire, which is, on the contrary, a territorial inferiority.

The dukes of Lorrain, Brabant, and Hainault, had done homage for their lands to the last kings of Germany. Lotharius, king of France, revives his pretensions to these countries. The royal authority began to be a little vigorous in France at this time, and Lotharius took the advantage of the conjuncture to attack at once High and Low Lorrain.

978.

Otho assembles near sixty thousand men, ravages all Champagne, and penetrates even to Paris. At that time they neither knew how to fortify the frontiers, or make war in the open country. Military expeditions were no more than ravages.

H

Otho,

Otho, in his return, is defeated in crossing the river Aine. Geoffroi, count of Anjou, surnamed Grifegonnelle, pursues him, without ceasing, in the forest of Ardenne, according to the rules of chivalry, to quarrel by single combat. The emperor refuses the challenge, either because he thought it was beneath his dignity to fight hand to hand with Grifegonnelle, or because, being cruel, he wanted courage. .

979.

The emperor and king of France make peace, in consequence of which Charles, brother of Lotharius, receives Low Lorrain from the emperor, together with part of High Lorrain. He does homage to him on his knees, and this submission is said to have cost his posterity the kingdom of France; at least Hugh Capet made use of that pretext to make him odious.

980.

While Otho II. strengthened himself in Germany, the Romans had endeavoured to shake off the German yoke. One Cencius was declared consul, and he and his party had made a pope whose name was Boniface VII. A count of Toscanella, who was enemy to his faction, had elected another pope, and Boniface VII. had gone to Constantinople to invite the Greek emperors Basilus and Constantine to come and retake Rome. The Greek emperors were not strong enough for such an enterprize. To them the pope joined the Arabians of Africa, choosing to make Rome Mahometan rather than German. The Christian Greeks and Mussulman Africans unite their squadrons, and together take possession of the country of Naples.

Otho

Otho II. repairs to Italy, and marches to Rome.

981.

As Rome was divided, he found immediate admission. He goes in the pope's palace, invites several senators, and the partisans of Cencius to dinner. Soldiers enter during the repast, and murder the guests. This was renewing the times of Marius, and this was all that remained of ancient Rome. But is the fact really true? Geofroi of Viterbo relates it two hundred years after it is supposed to have happened.

982.

After this bloody feast it is necessary to march into Apulia, to fight the Greeks and Saracens, who came to revenge and serve the city of Rome. He had a number of Italian troops in his army, and they were good for nothing but treason.

The Germans are intirely defeated. The bishop of Augsburg and abbot of Fuld are killed, fighting in the field of battle. The emperor escapes in disguise, and embarks as a passenger in a Greek vessel. This vessel sails near Capua; the emperor throws himself into the sea, swims ashore, and takes refuge in Capua.

983.

Things were now on the brink of a great revolution. The Germans had well nigh lost all Italy; the Greeks and Mussulmans were going to quarrel about Rome; but Capua is still fatal * to the conquerors of the Romans. The

* Alluding to the conduct of Hannibal, who instead of besieging Rome, immersed himself in the delights of Capua.

Greeks and Arabians cannot agree: their army is inconsiderable: they give Otho time to re-assemble the wreck of his troops, and to declare his son Otho, who was but ten years old, emperor at Verona.

One Otho duke of Bavaria had been killed in the battle. Bavaria is given to his son. The emperor marches by Rome with his new army.

After having sacked the infidel Beneventum, he causes his chancellor of Italy to be elected pope. One would imagine he would have marched against the Greeks and Arabians. No such matter: he holds a council. All these circumstances plainly shew that his army was weak, that the conquerors were as weak, and the Romans weaker than either. Instead of going to fight, therefore, he confirms the erection of Hamburg and Bremen into an archbishop's see: he makes regulations for Saxony; and dies in Rome, September 7, without glory, though he leaves his son emperor. The Greeks and Saracens retreat, after having ruined Apulia and Calabria, made as bad a figure in war as Otho, and raised the whole country against them.



O T H O III.

FOURTEENTH EMPEROR.

983.

HOW should Germany acknowledge an emperor and king of the Romans, who was but ten years old, acknowledged only at Verona, and

and whose father was defeated by the Saracens. That same Henry of Bavaria who had disputed the crown with the father, escapes from the prison of Maëstricht, in which he was confined; and under pretence of acting as tutor to his cousin, the young emperor Otho III. secures his person, and conducts him to Magdebourg.

984.

Germany is divided into two factions. Henry of Bavaria is supported by Bohemia and Poland; but the greatest part of the lords of the great fiefs, and the bishops, hoping to be more their own masters under a prince of ten years of age, oblige Henry to set the young Otho at liberty, and acknowledge him as emperor; in consideration of which he is at last reinstated in the possession of Bavaria.

Otho III. is then solemnly proclaimed at Weissenstadt.

He is served at dinner by the great officers of the empire: Henry of Bavaria performs the office of steward, count Palatine of great cup-bearer, the duke of Saxony of great master of the horse, the duke of Franconia of great chamberlain: the dukes of Bohemia and Poland are present as great vassals.

The education of the emperor is committed to the care of the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Idesheim.

During these troubles, Lotharius king of France attempts to retake High Lorrain, and makes himself master of Verdun.

986.

After the death of Lotharius, Verdun is restored to Germany.

H 3

987. Lewis

987.

Lewis V. the last king in France of the race of Charlemagne, dying in the second year of his reign, Charles duke of Lorrain, his uncle and heir of blood, in vain pretends to the crown of France: Hugh Capet, by his power and address, proves that the right of election was then in force.

988.

The abbot of Verdun obtains at Cologn permission to go without a sword, and refuses to command in person the soldiers he owes when the emperor raises forces.

Otho III. confirms all the privileges of the bishops and abbots: their privilege and their duty was then to wear the sword, seeing the abbot of Verdun had occasion to sue for a particular dispensation.

989.

The Danes choose this opportunity to enter by the Elbe and the Weser. They now began to perceive in Germany the necessity of negotiating with Sweden against Denmark; and the bishop of Sleswick is charged with this negotiation.

The Swedes defeat the Danes at sea. The north of Germany has a little respite.

990.

The rest of Germany becomes a prey to feuds between private noblemen; and these feuds, which the sovereigns cannot appease, shew that they had more right than power. The case is still worse in Italy.

Pope John XV. son of a priest, at that time possessed the chair, and was favourable to the emperor. Crescentius, the new consul, son of the
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the consul Crescentius, whose father was John X. had a mind to maintain the shadow of the ancient republic, and expelled the Pope from Rome. The empress Theophania, mother of Otho III. had come with troops, under the command of the marquis of Brandenburg, to maintain the imperial authority in Italy.

While the marquis of Brandenburg is at Rome, the *Slaves* seize his marquisate.

From 991 to 996.

The *Slaves*, with a crew of other Barbarians, besiege Magdebourg: they are repulsed with difficulty: they retire to Pomerania, and cede some villages of Brandenburg, which extend the marquisate.

Austria was then a marquisate also, and no less unhappy than Brandenburg, being the frontier of the Hungarians.

The emperor's mother had returned from Italy, without having been able to appease the troubles of that country, and died at Nimeguen. The cities of Lombardy did not acknowledge the emperor.

Otho III. levies troops; besieges Milan, where he is crowned; elects his relation * pope Gregory V. as he had elected a bishop of Spire; and is consecrated in Rome by his kinsman, together with his empress Maria, daughter of Don Garcia, king of Arragon and Castile.

997.

It is strange that the modern authors, Maimbourg, and so many others, should still relate the fable of the amours of this empress with a count of Modena, and the punishment of the

* Whose name was Bruno.

gallant and his mistress. It is pretended that the emperor, being more incensed against the mistress than the gallant, ordered his wife to be burnt alive, and only condemned his rival to lose his head; and that the count's widow, having proved her husband's innocence, had four fine castles by way of indemnification. This fable had already been invented upon one Andaberta, wife of the emperor Lewis II. These are romances, the falsity of which is proved by the sage and learned Muratori.

The emperor, acknowledged at Rome, returns to Germany; finds the *Slaves* masters of Bernbourg; and deprives the archbishop of Magdebourg of the government of that country, because he had allowed himself to be defeated by the *Slaves*.

998.

While Otho III. is employed against the Barbarians of the North, the consul Crescentius at Rome expels Gregory V*. by whom he is excommunicated to Pavia; and Otho repairs to Italy, in order to punish the consul.

Crescentius sustains a siege in Rome, which, however he surrenders in a few days, and retires into Adrian's Mole, then called the Mole of Crescentius, and now The Castle of St. Angelo. There he dies fighting, though the manner of his death is not known; but he seems to have deserved the name of Consul, which he bore. The emperor takes his widow

* He likewise elevated another person to the papacy by the name of John XVI. whom Otho caused to be thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his nose cut off.

for a mistress; and by his orders the pope, nominated by Crescentius, has his tongue and eyes pulled out. But, indeed, Otho and his mistress are said to have done penance, to have gone in pilgrimage to a monastery, and even to have lain upon a rush mat.

999.

He makes a decree by which the Germans only shall have the right to elect a Roman emperor, and the popes shall be obliged to crown him. Gregory V. his relation, did not fail to sign this decree, and the following popes to reject it.

1000.

Otho returns to Saxony, and passes into Poland: he bestows the title of king upon the duke, but not upon his descendants. We shall see, in the sequel, that the emperors created kings and dukes by breviate. Boleslaus receives the crown from him, does homage to the empire, and obliges himself to pay a slight annual service.

Pope Sylvester II. some years after conferred the same title upon him, pretending that none but the Pope had a right to bestow it. It is very strange that one sovereign should demand a title from another; but custom makes every thing familiar. Historians say, that Otho, going afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, ordered the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, and found that emperor still undecayed, sitting upon a throne of gold, with a crown of precious stones upon his head, and a great golden sceptre in his hand. If Charlemagne had been interred in this manner, the Normans, who destroyed Aix-la-Chapelle, would not have left him upon his throne of gold.

H 5

1001. The

1001.

The Greeks then abandoned the country of Naples; but the Saracens often repeated their visits. The emperor repasses the Alps, in order to put a stop to their progress, and that of the defenders of the Italic liberty, more dangerous than the Saracens.

1002.

The Romans besiege his palace in Rome; and all he can do is to fly with the Pope and his mistress, the widow of Crescentius: he dies at Paterno, a small town of the Campagna of Rome, near thirty years of age. Several authors say he was poisoned by his mistress, because he would not make her empress; others, that he was poisoned by the Romans, who wanted no emperor. This fact may be probable, but it is not at all proved. His death left as undecided as ever that long struggle of the papacy against the empire, of the Romans against both, and of the Italian liberty against the German power. This is what keeps Europe always attentive; this is the clue that conducts us through the labyrinth of the history of Germany.

Those three Othos, who re-established the empire, have all three besieged Rome, and filled the streets with blood, and Arnold had sacked it before their time.

1003.

Otho III. left no children, Twenty noblemen pretend to the empire: one of the most powerful was Henry duke of Bavaria, and the most obstinate of his rivals was Eckard marquis of Thuringia. The marquis is assassinated to facilitate the election of the Bavarian, who, at the head of an army, causes himself to be consecrated at Mentz, July, 19.

H E N R Y II.

FIFTEENTH EMPEROR.

1003.

SCARCE is Henry of Bavaria crowned, when he causes Herman duke of Suabia and Alface, who was his competitor, to be declared an enemy to the empire. He engages Strasbourg in his interest: it was already a powerful city. He ravages Suabia; marches into Saxony; exacts the oath of allegiance from the duke of Saxony, the archbishops of Magdebourg and Bremen, the counts Palatine, and even Boleslaus king of Poland. He is acknowledged by the *Slaves* who inhabit Pomerania.

He marries Cunegonda, daughter of the first count of Luxembourg: he makes a progress through the provinces; receives the homage of the bishops of Liege and Cambray, who take the oath upon their knees. At last he is acknowledged by the duke of Saxony, who like the rest takes the oath.

The efforts of the Italian weakness against the German government are incessantly renewed. A certain marquis de Ivrea, called Arnouldin, attempts to make himself king of Italy. He is elected by the noblemen, and takes the title of Cæsar: then the archbishops of Milan began to pretend that a king of Lombardy could not be made without their consent, as the popes pretended that the emperor could not be made without theirs. Arnolphus, archbishop of Milan, addresses himself to king Henry; for it was

always the Italians who invited the Germans, whom they could neither bear with, nor be without.

Henry sends troops to Italy under Otho duke of Carinthia. King Ardouin defeats these troops near the Tirol. The emperor Henry could not leave Germany, where he was detained by troubles of another nature.

1004.

The new Christian king of Poland takes advantage of the weakness of Boleslaus duke of Bohemia; makes himself master of his dominions, and puts out his eyes, conforming himself to the practice of the Christians emperors of the East and West: he takes all Bohemia, Misnia, and Lusatia. Henry II. contents himself with demanding that he will do him homage for the dominions he has invaded. The king of Poland laughs at the demand, and engages in an alliance with several princes of Germany against Henry, who therefore is resolved to preserve Germany, before he goes to oppose the new Cæsar of Italy.

1005.

He reconciles himself to the bishops; negotiates with the noblemen, levies soldiers, and disconcerts the association.

The Hungarians began to embrace Christianity through the care of the missionaries, whose sole aim is to extend their religion, while that of princes is to extend their dominions.

Stephen, chief of the Hungarians, who had married the sister of Henry the emperor, becomes a Christian about this time; and, luckily for Germany, makes war with his Christian Hungarians against the idolatrous Hungarians.

The

The church of Rome, which had allowed itself to be anticipated by the emperors, in the nomination of a king of Poland, is before-hand with them in regard to Hungary. Pope John XIX. confers upon Stephen of Hungary the title of king and apostle, with the right of having the cross carried before him like the archbishops; and Hungary is divided into ten bishoprics much better filled with idolaters than with Christians.

The archbishop of Milan presses Henry II. to come to Italy against his king Ardouin. Accordingly Henry sets out for that country by the way of Bavaria, the states or parliament of which are then electing a duke: and Henry of Luxembourg, the emperor's brother-in-law, is unanimously chosen. An important fact which shews the rights of the people were reckoned of some consideration.

Henry, before he passed the Alps, leaves his wife Cunegonda in the hands of the archbishop of Magdebourg. It is pretended, that he had made a vow of chastity with her: a vow of imbecillity in an emperor.

He is no sooner in the neighbourhood of Verona, than the Cæsar Ardouin betakes himself to flight. We always see the kings of Italy when the Germans are not there; but as soon as these set foot in Italy, the kings are seen no more.

Henry is crowned at Pavia: There they conspire against his life. He stifles the conspiracy, and after abundance of bloodshed pardons the conspirators.

He does not go to Rome, but, according to
the

the custom of his predecessors, quits Italy with all possible dispatch.

1006.

It is always the fate of the German princes to be recalled by troubles at home, when they might secure their dominions in Italy.

He goes to defend the Bohemians against the Poles. Being received in Prague, he gives the investiture of the duchy of Bohemia to Jaromir. He passes the Oder, pursues the Poles into their own country, and makes peace with them.

He builds Bamberg, and there founds a bishopric; but he gives the feudal lordship to the pope: he is said to have reserved to himself no more than the right of lodging in the castle.

He assembles a council at Frankfort upon the Main, solely on account of this new bishopric of Bamberg, which the bishop of Wurtzburg opposes as a dismembering of his bishopric. The emperor prostrates himself before the bishops; they discuss the rights of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, without coming to any agreement.

1007.

The Prussians or Borussians begin to be talked of. They were barbarians who lived upon horses blood: inhabiting latterly the deserts between Poland and the Baltick. They are said to have worshipped serpents. They frequently plundered the territories of Poland. There must have been something to be got amongst them, seeing the Poles also made incursions into their country.

1008.

1009.

Otho duke of Low-Lorrain, the last known descendant

descendants of Charlemagne, being dead, Henry II. gives that duchy to Godfrey count of the Ardennes. This donation is productive of troubles. The duke of Bavaria takes the advantage of them to disturb Henry, but is expelled from Bavaria.

1010.

Herman, son of Eckard of Thuringia receives from Henry II. the marquisate of Misnia.

1011.

War is still carried on with Poland. It is only since she is become a feudatory to Germany, that Germany has wars with her.

Glogau already existed in Silesia, and is besieged: the Silesians were united with the Poles.

1012.

Henry, fatigued with all these troubles, is desirous of being made canon of Strasbourg. He makes a vow to that purpose, and in order to accomplish his vow founds a canonate, the possessor of which is called *King of the Choir*. Having laid aside the design of being a canon he goes to fight the Poles, and calms the troubles in Bohemia.

At this period is placed the adventure of Cunegonda, who being accused of adultery, after having made a vow of chastity, proves her innocence by handling red-hot iron. This tale must be ranked with the funeral pile of the empress Mary of Arragon.

1013.

As soon as the emperor quitted Italy, Ardouin repossessed himself of it, and the archbishop of Milan incessantly incites Henry II. to come and reign.

Henry repasses the Alps of Tyrol a second time; and the *Slaves* seize that very conjuncture to renounce the little Christianity they knew, and ravage the whole territory of Hamburg.

1014.

As soon as the emperor is in the Veronais, Ardouin betakes himself to flight. The Romans are ready to receive Henry. He comes to Rome to be crowned with Cunegonda. Pope Benedict VIII. changes the form. He first asks him on the steps of St. Peter's: "Will you be faithful in all things to me and my successors?" This was a kind of homage which the cunning of the pope extorted from the simplicity of the emperor.

The emperor goes to subdue Lombardy. He passes through Burgundy, visits the abbey of Clugni, and desires to be associated in the community. He afterwards repairs to Verdun, and desires to become a monk in the abbey of St. Vall. It is pretended that the abbot being wiser than Henry, said to him: "Monks owe obedience to their abbots: I order you to continue emperor."

1015, 1016, 1017, 1018.

These years produce nothing but petty wars in Bohemia and on the frontiers of Poland. All that part of Germany from the Elbe, is more barbarous and miserable than ever. Every nobleman who could arm a few peasants (serfs,) made war upon his neighbour: and when the possessors of the great fiefs had wars of their own to maintain, they obliged their vassals to leave their own particular quarrels to come and serve them. This was called the Law of Truce.

How

How could the emperors choose to live in the midst of such barbarity, instead of going to reside at Rome? because, in order to be acknowledged by the Romans, it was necessary to be powerful among the Germans.

1019, 1020, 1021.

The emperor's authority was strengthened in Lombardy by his lieutenants. But the Saracens still continued their depredations upon Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and this year fell upon Tuscany. But their incursions in Italy were like those of the *Slaves* and Hungarians in Germany. They were no longer in a condition to make great conquests, because they were divided and weakened in Spain. The Greeks still possessed great part of Apulia and Calabria governed by a Catapan. One Millo prince of Bari and a prince of Salerno took arms against this Catapan.

Then appeared, for the first time, those adventurers of Normandy, who afterwards founded the kingdom of Naples. They served Millo against the Greeks. Pope Benedict VIII. and Millo, being equally afraid of the Greeks and Saracens, go to Bamberg to demand succour of the emperor.

Henry II. confirms the donations of his predecessors to the see of Rome, reserving to himself the sovereign power. He confirms a decree made at Pavia, by which the clerks are restricted from having either wives or concubines.

1022.

There being a necessity for opposing the Greeks and Mahometans in Italy, he goes thither in the spring. His army is chiefly composed

composed of bishops at the head of their own troops. This holy emperor, who would not suffer an under-deacon to have a wife, allowed the bishops to wallow in human blood: inconsistencies too frequent among men.

He sends troops towards Capua and to Apulia, but does not make himself master of the country: and it was but an indifferent conquest to seize the abbot of Monte Cassini who had declared against him, and cause another to be elected in his room.

1023.

He very soon repasses the Alps according to the maxim of his predecessors, never to stay long from Germany. He agrees with Robert, king of France, to have an interview in a boat upon the Meuse between Sedan and Mouson. The emperor anticipates the king of France by frankly going to the camp. This was rather a visit of friends, than a conference of kings; an example which hath been seldom imitated.

1024.

The emperor afterwards makes the tour of great part of Germany in profound peace, leaving every where marks of his justice and generosity.

He felt his end approaching, although he was but two and fifty years of age; and historians write, that before his death he said to the parents of his wife: "You gave me her a virgin, and I restore you her a virgin:" a very strange declaration from a husband, and still more strange from a crowned husband. He died July 14, and his body is carried to Bamberg, which was his favourite town. The canons of
Bamberg

Bamberg canonized him an hundred years after his death.

C O N R A D II.

Surnamed THE SALIC.

SIXTEENTH EMPEROR.

1024.

ONE cannot sufficiently wonder at the prodigious number of dissertations upon the seven pretended electors who were supposed to be instituted at this time. Be this as it will, there never had been a greater assembly than that in which Conrad II. was elected. They were obliged to hold it in the open fields, between Worms and Mentz. The dukes of Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Suabia, Franconia, of High and Low Lorraine, together with a prodigious number of counts, bishops and abbots, gave their votes. It must be observed that the magistrates of the towns were present, though they did not give their suffrages. They incamped six weeks in the field of election, before it was determined.

At length the choice fell upon Conrad surnamed the Salic, because he was born on the river Sal. He was a nobleman of Franconia, whom they derived from Otho the Great by the female line. In all probability he was chosen as the least dangerous of all the pretenders. Indeed, we find no great towns belonging to him; and he is no more the chief of powerful

powerful vassals, every one of whom is as powerful as himself.

1025,

1026.

Germany was always considered as the centre of the empire; and the name of the emperor seems to have been confounded with that of the king of Germany. The Italians snatched all opportunities to separate these two titles.

The deputies of the great fiefs in Italy, come and offer the empire to Robert, king of France; at that time, it was the present of an unsubstantial title, and of substantial wars: therefore Robert wisely refuses the proffer. They address themselves to the duke of Guienne, a peer of France, who accepts it, because he had less to lose. But pope John XX. and the archbishop of Milan, bring Conrad the Salic into Italy. First of all his son Henry must be elected and crowned king of Germany. It was then the custom of France, and of every other nation.

He is obliged to besiege Pavia. He undergoes seditions at Ravenna. Every German emperor though invited to Italy, meets with a bad reception.

1027.

Scarcely is Conrad crowned at Rome, when he finds himself no longer in safety. He returns to Germany, where he finds a faction against him. These are the causes of the frequent journeys of the emperors.

1028, 1029, 1030.

Henry, duke of Bavaria, being dead, Stephen, king of Hungary, his relation by his mother, demands Bavaria, to the prejudice of the last duke's son. A proof that the rights of blood were

were not yet thoroughly established: indeed, nothing was. The emperor gives Bavaria to the son. The Hungarians attempt to take it by force of arms. They fight, and then peace is made; and, after the death of this Stephen, the emperor has credit enough to raise one Peter, a kinsman of Stephen, to the throne of Hungary: he has moreover power enough to exact homage, and extort a tribute from the said Peter, whom the incensed Hungarians call Peter the German. The popes, who still believed they had erected Hungary into a kingdom, would not have wished to hear him called Peter the Roman.

Ernest, duke of Suabia, who had taken arms against the emperor, is put to the ban of the empire. Ban, at first, signified Banner, afterwards Edict, or Proclamation, and then Banishment. This is one of the first examples of that proscription. The form was, "We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and we send thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth."

1031, 1032.

At this time the sovereigns of Silesia began to be known. They are neither under the yoke of Bohemia nor of Poland. Poland insensibly detaches itself from the empire, which it will no longer acknowledge.

1032, 1033, 1034.

If the empire loses one vassal in Poland, it acquires an hundred in the kingdom of Burgundy.

Rhodolphus, the last king, who had no children, leaves at his death his dominions to Conrad the Salic. This was but a very small

extent of dominion, with the territorial superiority, or at least pretensions to the superiority, that is, right of paramount over the Swiss, the Grisons, Provence, Franche Comté, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiné. From hence the lands on the other side of the Rhine are still called the Lands of the Empire. All the noblemen of those cantons, who formerly held of Rhodolphus, now hold of the emperor.

Some bishops were likewise erected into feudatory princes. Conrad gave them all the same rights. The emperors still raise the bishops in order to oppose them to the noblemen; for they were always at ease when those two bodies were divided, and very much disturbed when they were united.

The sees of Lyons, Besançon, Ambrun, Vienne, Lausanne, Geneva, Basil, Grenoble, Valence, Gap, and Die, were imperial fiefs.

Of all the feudatories of Burgundy, one only lays the foundations of a durable power. That is Humbert, with the white Hands, from whom the dukes of Savoy are descended. He had no more than the Morienne, when the emperor gave him the Chablais, the Valais, and St. Maurice: in the same manner, from Poland to the Scheld, and from the Saone to Garilian, the emperors every where created princes, and looked upon themselves as lords paramount of almost all Europe.

From 1035 to 1039.

Italy, still involved in troubles, recalls Conrad. That same archbishop of Milan, who had crowned the emperor, was for that very reason against him; because his rights and pretensions were augmented by it. Conrad causes him to be

be apprehended with three other bishops. He is afterwards obliged to besiege Milan, which, however, he could not take. There he loses part of his army, and of consequence, his credit at Rome.

He goes to make laws at Beneventum and Capua; but, in the mean time, the Norman adventurers make conquests in that country.

At length he re-enters Milan by means of negotiations, and returns to Germany, according to custom.

He is taken ill, and dies at Utrecht *, June 4, 1039.



H E N R Y III.

SEVENTEENTH EMPEROR.

From 1039 to 1042.

HENRY III. surnamed *the Black*, son of Conrad, already crowned while his father was alive, is acknowledged without difficulty. He is crowned and consecrated a second time by the archbishop of Cologne. The first years of his reign are signalized by wars with Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, which however, produce no great event.

He bestows the archbishoprick of Lyons, and

* Leaving behind him the reputation of a just, generous, and magnanimous prince. A gentleman, who had lost his leg in his service, was gratified with as many pieces of gold as one of his boots could contain, which the emperor told him, were given to defray the expence of his cure.

invests the archbishop, by the cross and ring, without any contradiction; two circumstances very remarkable, which prove that Lyons was an imperial town, and that the kings possessed the right of investing bishops.

From 1042 to 1046.

Rome and Italy were involved as usual in great confusion.

The house of Toscanella had always the chief authority in Rome. It had purchased the pontificate for a child of twelve years of age belonging to that family. Two others having purchased it at the same time, these three pontiffs shared the revenues equally among them, and agreed to live peaceably, leaving all political affairs to the chief of the house of Toscanella.

This singular triumvirate continued as long as they had money to consult their pleasures; and when they had no more, each sold his part of the papacy to the deacon Gratian, whom father Maimbourg calls an Holy Priest, a man of quality, very rich. But as young Benedict XI. had been elected a long time before the other two, he by a solemn agreement was allowed to enjoy the tribute which England then payed to Rome, under the appellation of St. Peter's Pence; and to which the kings of England had long submitted.

This Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI. and who is reckoned to have conducted himself wisely, enjoyed the pontificate in peace, when the emperor Henry III. came to Rome.

Never emperor exercised more authority in that place. He deposed Gregory VI. as ha-
ving
been

been guilty of simony, and nominated to the papacy his own chancellor, Suidger *, bishop of Bamberg, without any person's daring to murmur.

The chancellor, become pope, consecrates the emperor and his wife, and promises all that the popes have at any time promised to the emperors, when these last happened to be the stronger.

1047.

Henry III. bestows the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and almost all the Beneventine, except the town of Beneventum, and its territory, upon the Norman princes, who had conquered these countries from the Greeks and Saracens. The popes did not, at that time, pretend to give these dominions. The town of Beneventum then belonged to the Pandolphi of Tolcanella.

The emperor returns to Germany, and fills all the vacant sees.

1048.

The duchy of Mosellanic Lorrain is given to Gerard of Alsace, and that of Low Lorrain to the house of Luxembourg. The house of Alsace, since that time, is known only by the titles of marquises and dukes of Lorrain.

The pope being dead, we again find the emperor giving a pope to Rome, just as he gave away any other benefice. Henry III. sends a Bavarian called Popo, who is immediately acknowledged as pope, under the name of Damasus II.

* Alias Heidegger.

1049.

Damasus dying, the emperor, in the assembly of Worms, nominates Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the papacy, and sends him to take possession. This is pope Leo IX. the first who kept his own bishoprick together with that of Rome. It is not surprising that the emperors should thus dispose of the holy see. Theodora and Marosia had accustomed the Romans to this submission, and without Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. the pontificate would have been always dependent. Their feet would have been kissed, and they themselves would have been slaves.

1050, 1051, 1052.

The Hungarians kill their king Peter, renounce the Christian religion, and the homage they had done to the empire. Henry III. makes war upon them unsuccessfully *; and cannot put an end to it any other way, but by giving his daughter in marriage to Andrew the new king, who was a Christian, although his subjects were not.

1053.

Pope Leo IX. comes to Worms, to complain to the emperor that the Norman princes were become too powerful.

Henry III. resumes the feudal rights of Bamberg, and gives the pope the town of Bene-

* So says Heiss: but the Saxon Chronicles affirm that he defeated Andrew in a bloody battle, deprived him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to accept of peace, on condition that he should pay a large yearly-tribute in money, and furnish him with a certain number of fighting men.

ventum in exchange. He could give the pope no more than the town, as the Norman princes had done homage to the empire for the rest of the duchy: but the emperor furnished the pope with an army to expel these new conquerors, who were become too near neighbours to Rome.

Leo IX. marches against them with this army, one half of which is commanded by ecclesiastics.

Humfroid, Richard, and Robert Guiscard, or Guichard, those Normans so famous in history, cut in pieces the pope's army, though three times as numerous as their own. They take the pope prisoner, prostrate themselves before him, and lead him captive to the town of Beneventum.

1054.

The emperor affects absolute power. The duke of Bavaria being at war with the bishop of Ratisbon, Henry III. espouses the bishop's cause, summons the duke of Bavaria to appear before his privy council, strips him of his dominions, and gives Bavaria to his own son Henry, about three years of age. This is the famous Henry IV.

The duke of Bavaria takes refuge among the Hungarians, whom he in vain endeavours to interest in his revenge.

The emperor proposes to the noblemen, who are most attached to his interest, to secure the empire to his son, who was an infant. He is accordingly declared king of the Romans, in the castle of Tribur near Mentz. This was not a new title. It had been assumed by Ludolphus, the son of Otho I.

1055.

He makes a treaty of alliance with Contarini duke of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful; though it did not coin money till after the year 950; and was not enfranchised till after 998, from the acknowledgement of a mantle of cloth of gold, the only tribute which it had paid to the emperors.

Genoa was its rival in power and commerce. She was already in possession of Corsica, which she had taken from the Arabians; but her trade was much more advantageous than the possession of Corsica, which the Pisans disputed with her.

There were no such towns in Germany; all beyond the Rhine was poor and wretched, The people of the North, and those of the East, still poorer, continued to ravage these countries.

1056.

The *Slaves* make another irruption, and desolate the duchy of Saxony.

Henry III. dies near Paderborn, in the arms of pope Victor II. who before his death consecrates his son Henry emperor, in the sixth year of his age.



H E N R Y IV.

EIGHTEENTH EMPEROR.

1056.

A Woman governs the empire. She was French, daughter of a duke of Guienne peer of France, called Agnes, mother of the young

young emperor Henry IV. She, who had by right of guardianship the patrimonial estates of her son, had that of the empire, because she was possessed of courage and address.

From 1057 to 1069.

The first years of the reign of Henry IV. are obscure times of trouble.

Private noblemen make war upon one another in Germany. The duke of Bohemia, still vassal of the empire, is attacked by Poland, which will no longer be a member of it.

The Hungarians, so long formidable to Germany, are at length obliged to solicit succours of the Germans against the Poles, become dangerous, and notwithstanding that succour they are defeated. King Andrew and his queen fly for refuge to Ratisbon.

No policy or great design seems to have influenced these wars, which are produced from the slightest causes; sometimes they are derived from the spirit of Chivalry, by this time introduced into Germany. A count of Holland, for example, goes to war against the bishops of Cologne and Liege, on account of a quarrel that happened in a tournament.

The rest of Europe takes no share in the affairs of Germany, there is no war with France, no influence in England and the North, and very little at that time in Italy, though Henry IV. was both king and emperor of that country.

The empress Agnès finds it difficult to maintain her regency.

At length, in 1061, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of Henry IV. the archbishop of Cologne, and other princes, carry off the em-

peror from his mother, who is accused of sacrificing every thing to the bishop of Augsbourg, her minister and gallant. - She flies to Rome, and there takes the veil; and the noblemen remain masters of the emperor, and of Germany during his minority.

Mean while, after abundance of troubles in Italy, still excited on account of the pontificate, pope Nicholas II. in 1059, had decreed in a council of an hundred and thirteen bishops, that for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope, who should afterwards be presented to the people, to have the election confirmed, "Saving, added he, the honour and respect due to our dear son Henry, now king, who, if it pleases God, shall be emperor, according to the right which we have already conferred upon him."

Thus advantage was taken of the minority of Henry IV. to establish the rights and pretensions which the pontiffs of Rome always maintained when they could.

At that time a custom was established, which the dread of the rapaciousness of a thousand petty tyrants of Italy had introduced. A man gave his lands to the church under the title of Oblata, and continued feudatory possessor for a slight acknowledgment. This is the origin of the superiority of Rome, over the kingdom of Naples.

The same pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman conquerors made protectors and vassals of them, and those who were feudatories of the empire, and less afraid of the popes than of the emperors, do homage for their lands to pope Nicholas, in the council

council of Melphi, in the year 1059. The popes in the beginning of their power resembled the caliphs in the decay of their dominions; they bestowed the investiture on the strongest competitor.

Robert receives of the pope the ducal crown of Apuglia and Calabria, and is invested by the standard. Richard is confirmed prince of Capua; and the pope, moreover, gives them Sicily, in case they expel the Saracens from that island.

In effect, Robert and his brothers make themselves masters of Sicily in 1061, and thereby do the greatest service to Italy.

It was not till long after this period that the popes got possession of Beneventum, left by the Norman princes to the Pandolphi of the house of Toscanella.

1060

Henry IV. being now of age, frees himself from the captivity in which he was detained by the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria.

Every thing was then in the most horrible confusion. This may be judged by the right of ransoming travellers; a right which all the noblemen from the Maine and the Weser to the country of the Slaves, reckoned among their feudal prerogatives.

The right of pillaging the emperor seemed likewise very natural to the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and the marquis of Thuringia, who form an association against him.

1070.

Henry IV. assisted by the rest of the empire, dissipates this association.

Otho of Bavaria is put to the ban of the empire. He was the second sovereign of that duchy

chy who underwent this disgrace. The emperor gives Bavaria to Guelfe, son of Azo marquis of Italy.

1071,

1072.

The emperor, though young and addicted to pleasure, makes a progress through Germany, to establish some sort of order.

The year 1072 is the first æra of the famous quarrel about the investitures.

Alexander II. had been elected pope without consulting the imperial court, in spite of which he had maintained his station. Hildebrand, born at Soanne in Tuscany, of parents unknown, a monk of Clugni under the abbot Odilo, and afterwards cardinal, governed the pontificate. He is well known by the name of Gregory VII. a man of an enterprizing genius, turbulent, and fiery, but artful, even in the midst of his impetuosity; the most insolent of men, and the most zealous of priests. He had already by his council established and reinforced the authority of the church.

He persuades pope Alexander to summon the emperor to his tribunal. This would seem to have been a ridiculous piece of rashness; but if we consider the situation of the emperor, it was not. Saxony, Thuringia, and great part of Germany, had then declared against Henry IV.

1073.

Alexander II. dying, Hildebrand has credit enough to be elected by the people, without asking the votes of the cardinals, or waiting for the emperor's consent. He writes to that prince, that he had been elected against his will, and was ready to resign. Henry IV. sends his chancellor

cellor to confirm the election of the pope, who, having nothing farther to fear, takes off the mask.

1074.

Henry continues to make war upon the Saxons, and the association formed against him. Henry IV. is conqueror.

1075.

The Russians began to be Christians, and to be known in the West.

One Demetrius (for the Greek names had penetrated even to that part of the world) expelled from his dominions by his brother, comes to Mentz, and implores the assistance of the emperor; and what is still more remarkable, sends his son to Rome to prostrate himself at the feet of Gregory VII. as the judge of the Christians. The emperor was counted the temporal, and the pope the spiritual chieftain of Europe.

Henry totally destroys the association, and restores peace to the empire.

He seems to have been afraid of new revolutions; for he writes a very humble letter to the pope, in which he accuses himself of debauchery and simony; and we must believe his word. His confession gives Gregory the right of rebuking him. This is the fairest of all rights: but it does not give him that of disposing of crowns.

Gregory VII. writes to the bishops of Bremen, Constance, the archbishop of Mentz, and others, and orders them to come to Rome.

“ You have permitted clerks, says he, to keep concubines, and even to take new ones;—we

order you to appear at the first council in Rome."

It was also necessary to settle the affair of tithes, which the bishops and abbots of Germany disputed with one another.

Gregory VII. is the first who proposes a crusade. He writes on that subject to Henry IV. he pretends that he himself will go and deliver the holy sepulchre at the head of fifty thousand men, and desires the emperor to come and serve under him. The then prevailing spirit divests, this idea of the pope of the air of madness, and leaves nothing but that of greatness.

The design of commanding the emperor, and all the kings, seems no less chimerical, yet this is what he undertakes, and not without some success.

Salomon, king of Hungary, driven from part of his dominions, and being master of no more than what lies between Presburg and Austria, comes to Worms, and renews the homage of Hungary to the empire.

Gregory VII. writes to him, "You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman church. Learn that you will incur the indignation of the holy see, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of it, and not of the king of Germany."

The pope exacts of the duke of Bohemia an hundred marks of silver, an annual tribute, and gives him, by way of recompence, the right of wearing the mitre.

1076.

Henry IV. always enjoyed the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of giving the investiture

vestiture by the cross and the ring. This right he had in common with almost all princes. It naturally belongs to the people to choose their own pontiffs and magistrates; and it is but just that their choice should concur with the royal authority; but this authority had usurped the whole. The emperors filled vacant bishopricks, and Henry IV. sold them. Gregory, in opposing this abuse, maintained the natural liberty of mankind; but in opposing the concurrence of the imperial authority, he introduced a still greater abuse. Then broke out the divisions between the empire and the church.

The predecessors of Gregory VII. had sent legates to the emperors, for no other purpose but to intreat their succour, and desire them to come and be crowned in Rome. Gregory sends two legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent.

The legates, at their arrival at Goslar, are abandoned to the insults of the servants. By way of answer, a diet is held at Worms, at which almost all the noblemen, bishops, and abbots of Germany are present.

There a cardinal, called Hugh, demands justice for all the crimes he imputes to the pope, Gregory is deposed by a majority of voices; but there ought to have been an army to go and support that judgment at Rome.

The pope, on his side, deposes the emperor by a bull. "I forbid him, says he, to govern the Teutonic kingdom and Italy, and release all his subjects from their oath of allegiance."

Gregory, more cunning than the emperor, well knew that these excommunications would be seconded by civil wars. He brings over the

German bishops to his party. These bishops engage the noblemen. They are joined by the Saxons, Henry's old enemies. The excommunication of Henry IV. serves them as a pretext.

That same Guelfe to whom the emperor had given Bavaria, arms himself against him by means of his own bounty, and supports the malecontents.

At length, the majority of the bishops, and even of the princes who had deposed Gregory VII. subject their emperor to the judgment of that pope. They desire that the pope will come and judge the emperor definitively at Augsbourg.

1077.

The emperor would fain prevent this fatal judgment of Augsbourg, and in consequence of an unheard of resolution, goes, attended by a few domestics, to implore absolution of the Pope.

The Pope was then in the fortress of Cannossa, upon the Appennine, with the countess Mathilda, the emperor's own cousin.

The countess Mathilda is the true cause of all the wars between the emperors and the popes, which have so long ravaged Italy. She possessed, in her own right, great part of Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almost the whole of what is now called the Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvietta, part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the March of Ancona. She was called the Great Countess, sometimes Duchess. There was not then any form of titles used in Europe. People said to kings, "Your excellency, your serenity, your grandeur, and your grace,

grace," indifferently. The title of Majesty was rarely given to the emperors, and was rather an epithet than a name of honour attributed to the imperial dignity. There is still extant the patent of a donation of Mathilda to the bishop of Modena, which begins thus: "In presence of Mathilda, by the grace of God, duchess and countess." Her mother, who was sister of Henry III. and very ill treated by her brother, had brought up this powerful princess in an implacable hatred to the house of Henry. She was submissive to the Pope, who was her director, and, as his enemies say, her gallant. Her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred to the Germans, she carried to such a length as to make a donation of all her territories to the Pope.

It was in presence of this countess Mathilda, that the emperor, in the month of January, 1077, barefoot and in hair-cloth prostrated himself at the Pope's feet, swearing that he would be submissive to him in all things, and go and wait his decree at Augsbourg.

All the noblemen of Lombardy now began to be more dissatisfied with the Pope than the emperor. Mathilda's donation filled them with alarm: they promise to succour Henry IV. if he will break the shameful treaty he has made. Then the world saw, what had never been seen before, a German emperor assisted by Italy and abandoned by his own country.

The noblemen and bishops assembled at Forcheim in Franconia, animated by the Pope's legates, depose the emperor, and reunite their suffrages in favour of Rodolphus of Rhinfeld, duke of Suabia.

Pope of his own making, called Guibert : but this very circumstance hinders him at first from being received in Rome.

1082.

The Saxons set up the shadow of an emperor, one count Herman, scarce known in the world.

1083.

Henry besieges Rome. Gregory proposes to him to come once more and demand absolution, and promises to crown him on these terms. Henry, instead of answering, takes the city, and the Pope shuts himself up in the castle of St. Angelo.

Robert Guiscard comes to his assistance, although he had, some years before, had his share of the excommunications which Gregory so liberally bestowed. A negotiation is set on foot, and the Pope promises to crown Henry.

Gregory proposes to keep his promise by lowering down the crown with a rope, from the walls of the castle of St. Angelo, upon the emperor's head.

1084.

Henry is not satisfied with the pleasant ceremony : he exalts his antipope Guibert, and is solemnly crowned by his hands.

Mean while Robert Guiscard, having received a reinforcement of troops, compels the emperor to retire *, releases the Pope from the castle of St. Angelo, becomes at once his protector and master, and carries him to Salerno, where Gregory continues till his death the pri-

* While Henry repaired upon some very urgent affairs to Lombardy, Guiscard came to Rome, and delivered Gregory.

soner of his deliverers; but still talking as the master of kings, and martyr of the church.

• 1085.

The emperor returns to Rome, where he causes himself and his Pope to be acknowledged, and returns with great haste to Germany, like all his predecessors, who seem to have come and taken Rome merely by way of ceremony. He is recalled by the divisions of Germany; and there is a necessity for crushing the anti-emperor, and taming the Saxons: but he never could raise great armies; consequently his success could never be complete.

1086.

He subdues Thuringia; but Bavaria, debauched by the ingratitude of Guelfe, and half Suabia, which would not acknowledge his son-in-law, declare against him; and a civil war rages through all Germany,

1087.

Gregory VII. being dead, Didier, abbot of Monte Cassini, is Pope, under the name of Victor III. The countess Mathilda, still faithful to her hatred of Henry IV. furnishes this Victor with troops to expel the emperor's garrison and his pope Guibert from Rome. Victor dies, and Rome continues subject to the imperial authority.

1088.

The anti-emperor Hernan, having now neither money nor troops, comes and throws himself on his knees before Henry IV. and dies at last in oblivion.

1089.

Henry IV. marries a Russian princess, widow of a marquis of Brandenburg, of the house of Staden.

Staden. This was by no means a political match.

He gives the marquisate of Misnia to the count of Lansberg, one of the most ancient Saxon noblemen: from this marquis of Misnia is the whole house of Saxony descended.

Having pacified Germany, he repairs again to Italy. The greatest obstacle he there finds, is still that countess Mathilda, lately remarried to young Guelfe, son of that ungrateful Guelfe to whom Henry IV. had given Bavaria.

The countess maintains the war in her dominions against the emperor, who returns to Germany, without having done any thing to purpose.

This Guelfe, Mathilda's husband, is said to have been the first origin of the faction of the Guelfs; by which name the party of the popes in Italy was afterwards called. The word Ghibelin was long after applied to the factions of the emperors, because Henry son of Conrad III. was born at Ghibeling. This derivation of these two words of war, is as probable and as uncertain as the others.

1090.

The new pope Urban II. author of the crusades, pursues Henry IV. with no less rancour than that of Gregory VII.

The bishops of Constance and Passau excite an insurrection of the people. His new wife Adelaide of Russia, and his son Conrad, born of Bertha, revolt against him. Never was emperor, husband, or father, more unfortunate than Henry IV.

1091.

The empress Adelaide and her son-in-law
Conrad

Conrad pass into Italy. The countess Mathilda furnishes them with troops and money. Roger duke of Calabria gives his daughter in marriage to Conrad.

Pope Urban, having made this powerful league, does not fail to excommunicate the emperor.

1092.

The emperor, when he last departed from Italy, had left a garison in Rome: he was still master of the palace of the Lateran, which was pretty strong, and in which his pope Guibert had taken refuge.

The commandant of the garrison sells both garrison and palace to the Pope. Jeffrey, abbot of Vendome, who was then at Rome, lends Urban money to make this bargain, and Urban reimburses him with the title of Cardinal, which he settles upon him and his successors. Pope Guibert betakes himself to flight.

1093, 1094, 1095.

During these years, the minds of men in Europe are engrossed by the idea of Crusades which the famous Peter the hermit preached up every where, with an enthusiasm which spread like contagion from town to town.

A great council, or rather a prodigious assembly is held at Placentia in 1095. There were about forty-thousand men, and the council was held in the open field. There the pope propose the crusade.

There the empress Adelaide and the countess Mathilda solemnly demanded justice of the emperor Henry IV.

Conrade comes and kisses the feet of Urban II. takes the oath of fidelity to him, and leads his horse

horse by the bridle. Urban promises to crown him emperor on condition that he will renounce the right of investiture. He afterwards kisses him on the face, and dines with him in Cremona.

1096.

The crusade having been preached in France with more success than at Placentia, Walter Lack-Means, Peter the hermit, and a German monk called Godescald, take their march through Germany, at the head of an army of vagabonds.

1097.

As these vagabonds wore the cross and had no money, and the Jews who carried on all the trade of Germany had a great deal, the Crusards began their expeditions with them at Worms, Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and several other cities. They are massacred and burnt. Almost all the whole city of Mentz is reduced to ashes by these disorders.

The emperor Henry represses these excesses as much as he can, and leaves the Crusards to take their route through Hungary, where they are almost all murdered.

Young Guelfe quarrels with his wife Mathilda. There is a separation between them, and this quarrel contributes a little to the re-establishment of the emperor's affairs.

1098.

Henry holds a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he causes his son Conrad to be declared unworthy to reign.

1099.

He causes his second son Henry to be elected and crowned, never dreaming that he would have

have greater cause of complaint against the younger than against the elder.

• 1100.

The emperor's authority is absolutely destroyed in Italy, but re-established in Germany.

1101.

The rebellious Conrad dies suddenly at Florence. Pope Paschal II. to whom the emperor's impotent lieutenants in Italy had in vain opposed Antipopes, excommunicates Henry IV. after the example of his predecessors.

1102.

The countess Mathilda having quarrelled with her husband, renews her donation to the Roman Church.

Bruno archbishop of Triers, primate to the Gauls of Germany, having been invested by the emperor, goes to Rome, where he is obliged to ask pardon for having received the investiture.

1104.

Henry IV. promises to go to the Holy Land. This was the only way at that time of conciliating the affections of his subjects.

1105.

But at the same time, the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Constance, the pope's legates, perceiving the emperor's crusade was no more than a feint to excite his son Henry against him, they released him from the excommunication which (say they) he has incurred 'By being faithful to his father.' The pope encourages him; and several Saxons and Bavarian noblemen are gained over.

The partizans of young Henry assemble a council and an army: and in this council wise laws are made. There they confirm what is called

called God's Truce ; a monument of the horrible barbarity which prevailed in those times. This truce was an edict forbidding the noblemen and barons who were at open war, to slay one another on Sundays and holidays.

Young Henry protests in the council, that he is ready to submit to his father, if his father will submit to the pope. The whole council cried *Kyrie eleyson**, which was the prayer used in armies and councils.

Mean while this rebellious son engages the marquis of Austria in his party, together with the duke of Bohemia. The dukes of Bohemia sometimes took the title of king, since the pope had given them the mitre.

His party grows stronger and stronger. The emperor in vain writes to pope Paschal, who will not listen to his proposals. A diet is summoned at Mentz in order to appease so many troubles.

Young Henry feigns a reconciliation with his father, asks pardon of him with tears in his eyes, and having allured him into the castle of Bingenheim in the neighbourhood of Mentz, causes him to be apprehended and detained in prison.

1106.

The diet of Mentz declares for this perfidious son against the unfortunate father. The emperor receives an intimation that he must send the imperial ornaments to young Henry. They are taken from him by force and carried to Mentz, where the unnatural usurper is crowned. But he protests with a sigh, it is against his own

* Two Greek words signifying, *Lord have mercy.*

inclination, and that he will restore the crown to his father, as soon as Henry IV. shall be obedient to the pope.

We find in the Constitutions of Goldast a letter from the emperor to his son, in which he conjures him to allow the bishop of Liege to grant him an asylum at least. "Allow me," says he, "to continue at Liege, if not as emperor, at least as refugee. Let it not be said to my shame, or rather to yours, that I am forced to beg lodging in Easter-time. If you grant me what I ask, I shall be greatly obliged to you: if you refuse me, I will go and rather live as a poor cottager in a foreign country, than wander thus from one disgrace to another in an empire which was once my own."

What a letter is this from an emperor to his son! The hypocrisy and inflexible cruelty of this young prince restored some partizans to Henry IV. The new elected emperor in attempting to violate his father's asylum at Liege, was repulsed. He went to exact the oath of allegiance in Alsace: and all the homage the Alsations did was to beat the troops by which he was accompanied, so that he was compelled to betake himself to flight. But this slight check served only to incense him, and aggravate the miseries of his father.

The emperor was protected by the bishop of Liege, the dukes of Limburg and Low Lorraine. The count of Hainault was against him. Pope Paschal wrote to the count of Hainault, "Persecute without ceasing Henry chief of the heretics, and his fautors: you cannot offer more agreeable sacrifices to God."

Henry

Henry IV. at length being almost quite destitute of relief, and on the brink of being forced in Liege, writes to the abbot of Clugni, and seems to have meditated a retreat in that convent. He dies at Liege, August 7, overwhelmed with grief and crying aloud "O God of vengeance ! thou wilt revenge this parricide." It was an opinion equally ancient and vain, that God fulfilled the curses of dying men, especially those of parents : an error which would be very useful if it could terrify those who deserve such curses.

The unnatural son of Henry IV. comes to Liege, orders his father's body to be dug up from the church, as the carcase of an excommunicated wretch, and to be put in a vault at Spire.



H E N R Y . V .

NINETEENTH EMPEROR.

THE lords of the great fiefs then began to fortify themselves in the right of sovereignty. They assumed the name of *Coinperants*, looking upon themselves as sovereigns in their fiefs and vassals of the empire, not of the emperor. They indeed received of him the vacant fiefs ; but the same authority that bestowed them could not take them away. Thus in Poland the king confers the palatinates ; but the republic alone has the right of destitution. In effect one may receive through favour, but he ought not to be dispossessed but by justice. Several vassals of the

the

the empire had already intitled themselves dukes and counts "By the grace of God."

This independence which the noblemen confirmed to themselves, and which the emperors endeavoured to reduce, contributed at least as much as the popes, to the troubles of the empire, and the rebellion of children against their own fathers.

The power of the grandees derived growth from the impotence of the throne. This feudal government was nearly the same in France and Arragon. There was no longer any kingdom in Italy. All the noblemen there fortified themselves separately. Europe was wholly roughened with castles and covered with banditti. Barbarity and ignorance prevailed. The inhabitants of the country were slaves, the burghers of the town were despised and racked with impositions, and, some trading towns in Italy excepted, Europe from one end to the other was nothing but a theatre of misery.

The first thing done by Henry V. after his coronation, is to maintain the same right of investiture against which he had taken arms to dethrone his father.

Pope Paschal being come to France goes as far as Chaalons in Champagne, to confer with the German princes and bishops, who come thither in the emperor's name.

That numerous embassy at first refuses to make the first visit to the Pope. At length, however, they go to his lodgings. Bruno archbishop of Triers supports the right of the emperor. It would have been much more natural for an archbishop to exclaim against those investitures and homages of which the bishops

made such loud complaints; but private interest always overbalances that of the public.

1107, 1108, 1109, 1110.

These four years are almost wholly employed in wars against Hungary and part of Poland; wars without cause, and without any great success on either side, which ended in the weariness of all parties, and left things exactly as they were.

1111.

The emperor at the end of this war marries the daughter of Henry I. king of England, second son and successor of William the Conqueror. It is pretended that his wife had for dower, a sum amounting to about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. This was equal to about five millions of German crowns, as they are now valued, or to twenty millions of France. All the historians fail in point of exactness in recording such facts, and the history of those times is too often a heap of exaggerations.

At length the emperor turns his thoughts upon Italy and the imperial crown; and pope Paschal II. in order to disturb him, renews the quarrel of the investitures.

Henry V. sends ambassadors to Rome, followed by an army. In the mean time he promises by a writing still preserved in the Vatican to renounce the investitures, and to leave the popes in possession of all they had received from the emperors; and what is strange enough, after these submissions he promises not to kill or mutilate the sovereign pontiff.

Paschal II. by the same act promises to order the bishops to abandon to the emperor all their fiefs

fields ^{possession} of the empire; by this agreement the bishops lost a great deal; but the pope and emperor were considerable gainers.

All the bishops of Italy and Germany, who were at Rome, protesting against this agreement, Henry V. in order to appease them, proposes that they shall farm the lands of which they were formerly in possession. But the bishops will by no means consent to be farmers.

Henry V. wearied with all these contests, declares he will be crowned and consecrated without any condition at all. This whole dispute passed in the church of St. Peter during mass, which being ended the emperor ordered his guards to take the pope into custody.

There is an insurrection in Rome in favour of the pope. The emperor is obliged to make his escape; but returns immediately with troops; fights a bloody battle in Rome, kills abundance of Romans, and especially priests, and carries off the pope prisoner with some cardinals.

Paschal was more complaisant in prison than at the altar; he does every thing that the emperor desires. At the end of two months Henry V. reconducts the holy father to Rome at the head of his troops. The pope crowns him emperor April 13th, and at the same time gives him the bull by which he is confirmed in the right of the investitures. It is remarkable that in this bull he gives him no other title but that of *dilection*. But it is still more so, that the emperor and pope should communicate of the same host, and that the pope should say, when he gave the half of the host to the emperor, "As this part of the sacrament is divided from the other, so may the first of us two, who shall

break the peace, be separated from the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

Henry V. finishes the farce by asking the Pope's permission to bury his father in consecrated ground, assuring him he died penitent: then he returns to Germany to perform the obsequies of Henry IV. without having established his power in Italy.

1112.

Paschal II. is not displeased to find his cardinals and legates in all kingdoms disavowing his condescension for Henry V.

He assembles a council in the basilic of St. John of Lateran, where, in presence of three hundred prelates, he asks pardon for his weakness, offers to resign the pontificate, cancels and annuls all he had done, and debases himself in order to exalt the church.

1113.

Perhaps Paschal II. and his council would not have taken this step, if they had not depended upon one of those revolutions, which have always followed the consecration of the emperors. In effect, there were troubles in Germany about the imperial treasury; another source of civil wars.

1114.

Lotharius duke of Saxony, afterwards emperor, is at the head of the faction against Henry V. That emperor having occasion, like his father, to fight the Saxons, is like him defended by the house of Suabia. Frederick de Staufen, duke of Suabia and father of the emperor Barbarossa, prevents Henry V. from sinking in these troubles.

1115.

The most dangerous enemies of Henry V. are three priests; the Pope in Italy, the archbishop of Mentz, who sometimes defeats his troops, and Erlang bishop of Wirtzburg, who being sent by him to the confederates, betrays his master, and espouses their cause.

1116.

Henry V. being conqueror, puts Erlang bishop of Wirtzburg to the ban of the empire. The bishops of Wirtzburg pretended they were direct lords of all Franconia, although they were dukes of that country, and the duchy itself belonged to the imperial house.

The duchy of Franconia is given to Conrad, nephew of Henry V. At present there are no dukes, either of this great province, or of Suabia.

Bishop Erlang defends himself for a long time in Wirtzburg, disputes the ramparts sword in hand, and makes his escape when the town is taken.

The famous countess Mathilda dies, after having renewed the donation of all her estate to the Roman church.

1117.

The emperor Henry V. disinherited by his cousin, and excommunicated by the Pope, goes to Italy to take possession of Mathilda's lands, and be revenged upon his Holiness: he enters Rome, and the Pope flies for shelter among the Norman princes, the new vassals and protectors of the church.

The first coronation of the emperor appearing equivocal, a second is performed, which is still more so. An archbishop of Braga in Portugal,

tugal, a Limousin by birth, called Bourdin, takes it in his head to consecrate the emperor.

1118.

After the ceremony Henry goes to secure Tuscany. Paschal II. returns to Rome with a small army belonging to the Norman princes : he dies, and the army goes home again, after having taken care to see itself well paid.

The cardinals of themselves elect Caietan, Gelasus II. Cincio consul of Rome, marquis of Frangipani, devoted to the emperor, enters the conclave sword in hand, seizes the Pope by the throat, knocks him down, and takes him prisoner. This brutal ferocity throws Rome into combustion. Henry V. goes thither ; Gelasus retires to France, and the emperor gives the pontificate to his Limousin Bourdin.

1119.

Gelasus being dead at the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, the cardinals who were at the council, conjunctly with the Roman bishops, and even the laity who were present, elect Guy of Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne, son of a duke of Burgundy, and of the blood royal of France. This is not the first prince of elected Pope. He takes the name of Calixtus II.

Lewis the Gros, king of France, takes upon himself the office of mediator in that grand affair of the investitures between the empire and the church. A council is assembled at Rheims. The archbishop of Mentz arrives at that city with five hundred men at arms on horseback, and the count de Troye goes to receive him with the like number at the distance of half a league from town.

The

The emperor and Pope repair to Mouzon: they are on the very brink of accommodation, when a dispute upon words sets them more than ever at variance. The emperor quits Mouzon, and is excommunicated by the council.

1120, 1121.

As there were in this council several German bishops who had excommunicated the emperor, the other bishops of Germany will no longer allow the emperor to bestow the investitures.

1122.

At length, in a diet at Worms, the peace of the empire and of the church is established. It is found that this long quarrel was founded on a misunderstanding. The question was not to know if the emperors conferred the bishoprick, but if they could invest with the imperial fiefs those bishops who were canonically elected at their recommendation. It was decided, that the investitures for the future should be conferred, not by the crook, but by the scepter and ring: but, what was much more important, the emperor, in express terms, renounces the right of nominating to benefices those whom he was bound to invest. *Ego Henricus, Dei gratia, Romanorum imperator concedo in omnibus ecclesiis fieri electionem & liberam consecrationem.* This was an irreparable breach in the imperial authority.

1123.

Domestic troubles in Bohemia, Hungary, Alsace, and Holland. At this miserable period there was nothing but discord in the church, civil wars among the great, and slavery among the common people.

1124.

This is the first time that the affairs of England were intermingled with those of the empire. Henry I. king of England, and brother of the duke of Normandy, is already involved in wars with France on account of that duchy.

The emperor levies troops and advances towards the Rhine. We likewise see that even then all the German noblemen did not second the emperor in such quarrels: several noblemen refuse to assist him against a power, which, by its situation, ought to be naturally the protector of the German lords of the great fiefs against the sovereign paramount, just as the kings of England afterwards joined the great vassals of France.

1125.

The miseries of Europe were crowned with a pestilential disease, which attacks Henry V. who dies at Utrecht, May 22, with the reputation of an unnatural son, a hypocrite in religion, a turbulent neighbour, and a bad master.



LOTHARIUS II.

TWENTIETH EMPEROR.

1125, 1126, 1127.

THIS is a very singular æra. France, for the first time since the decay of Charlemagne's family, intermeddles in the election of an emperor in Germany. The famous monk Suger abbot of St. Dennis, and minister of state to Lewis the Gross, goes to the diet of Mentz with

with Arnulf duke of a sovereign, to oppose at least the election of Frederick duke of Suabia. He succeeds, either by intrigue or good fortune. The diet, being divided, chooses ten electors. These ten princes are not named. They elect Lotharius duke of Saxony, and the lords then present elevate him upon their shoulders.

Conrad duke of Franconia, of the house of Stauffen Suabia, and Frederick duke of Suabia, protest against this election. The abbot Suger was the first of the ministers of France who excited civil wars in Germany. Conrad causes himself to be proclaimed king at Spire; but, instead of supporting his faction, he goes to make himself king of Lombardy at Milan: his towns in Germany are taken from him, but he acquires others in Lombardy.

1128, 1129.

Seven or eight wars rage at one time in Denmark, Holstein, Germany, and Flanders.

1130:

At Rome the people still pretended to elect popes in spite of the cardinals, who had reserved that right to themselves; and persisted in refusing to acknowledge the person elected as their sovereign, though they consented to own him as their bishop. Rome was totally divided into two factions; one elects Innocent II. the other chooses the son or grandson of a Jew called Leo, who takes the name of Anacletus. The Jew's son, as being richest, drives his competitor from Rome. Innocent II. takes refuge in France, which is now become the asylum of oppressed popes. This Pope goes to Liege; engages Lotharius II. in his interest; crowns him.

him emperor, together with his wife; and, excommunicates his competitors.

1131, 1132, 1133.

Conrad of Franconia the anti-emperor, and Anacletus the anti-pope, have a great faction in Italy. The emperor Lotharius and pope Innocent go to Rome. The two popes submit to the decision of Lotharius, who decides in favour of Innocent. The anti-pope retires to the castle of St. Angelo, which is still in his possession. Lotharius causes himself to be consecrated by Innocent II. according to the then established customs. One of these was, that the emperor should first take an oath to preserve the Pope's life and limbs. But he made the same promise to the emperor.

The Pope cedes the profits of the lands of the countess Mathilda to Lotharius and his son-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, for their lives only, in consideration of an annual service to the holy see.

This was sowing wars for their successors.

To facilitate the donation of these profits, Lotharius II. kissed the Pope's feet, and led his mule some paces. Lotharius is supposed to be the first emperor who performed that double ceremony.

1134, 1135.

The two rivals of Lotharius, Conrad of Franconia, and Frederick of Suabia, being abandoned by their parties, reconcile themselves to the emperor, whom they acknowledge.

A celebrated diet is held at Magdeburg. The Greek emperor and the Venetians send thither ambassadors to demand justice against Roger king of Sicily; and there the ambassadors of the

the duke of Poland take the oath of fidelity to the empire, in all probability to preserve Pomerania, of which they had made themselves masters.

1136.

Order and police are re-established in Germany. Inheritance and customs of fiefs and under fiefs are settled. Magistracy, burgomasters, mayors, and provosts, are subjected to the the feudal lords. Privileges of churches, bishopricks, and abbeys, are confirmed.

1137.

The emperor's journey to Italy. Roger duke of Apulia and new king of Sicily, espoused the party of the antipope Anacletus, and threatened Rome. War is made upon Roger.

The city of Pisa was then very considerable in Europe, even above Venice and Genoa. These three trading towns furnished almost the whole West with all the delicacies of Asia. They had erected themselves quietly by liberty and commerce, while the desolation of the feudal government filled almost every other place with misery and servitude. The Pisans of themselves equipped a fleet of forty gallies to assist the emperor, and without these he could not have stood his ground. It is reported that the first copy of the Digesta was then found in Apulia, and presented to the city of Pisa by the emperor.

Lotharius II. dies near Trent, in passing the Alps of the Tirol.

CONRAD III.

TWENTIETH AND FIRST EMPEROR.

1138.

HENRY, duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Proud, who possessed Saxony, Misnia, Thuringia, Verona, Spoleto, and almost the whole estate of Mathilda, seized the imperial ornaments, and imagined his great power would raise him to the imperial throne; but this was the very circumstance that prevented his success.

All the noblemen unite in favour of Conrad, the same who had disputed the empire with Lotharius II. Henry of Bavaria, who seemed so powerful, is the third of that name who is put to the ban of the empire. He must have been still more imprudent than proud, seeing he could scarce defend himself, notwithstanding his great power.

As the name of that prince's family was Guelph, those who espoused his party were called *Guelphs*, and this name was afterwards usually given to the enemies of the emperors.

1139.

Saxony, which belonged to the Guelphs, is given to Albert of Anhalt, surnamed the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg; and Bavaria is given to the marquis of Austria. But Albert the Bear, finding himself unable to take possession of Saxony, this affair is accommodated. Saxony remains with the house of the Guelphs, and Bavaria continues with the house of Austria; but that whole disposition hath since been changed.

1140.

1140.

Henry the Proud dies, leaving Henry the Lion in the cradle. His brother Guelph supports the war, towards the maintenance of which Roger king of Sicily gives him a thousand marks of silver. We see that the Norman princes are no sooner become powerful in Italy, than they endeavour by all possible means to block up the emperor's road to Rome. Frederick Barbarossa, Conrad's nephew, so famous in the sequel, already signalizes himself in this war.

From 1140 to 1146.

No period ever appeared more favourable for the emperors, to come and establish at Rome that power which was always the object of their ambition, and always contested.

Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, a man of an enthusiastic disposition, preached thro' all Italy against the temporal power of the popes and the clergy, and persuaded all those whose interest it was to be persuaded, especially the Romans.

In 1144, under the short pontificate of Lucius II. the Romans make another attempt to re-establish the ancient republic; they augment the senate, elect as patrician a son of the anti-pope Peter of Lyons, called Jordani, and confer upon him the tribunitial power. Pope Lucius marches against them, and is killed at the foot of the Capitol.

Mean while, Conrad III. neglects going to Italy, either being detained by a war which the Hungarians carried on against the marquis of Austria, or because the epidemical passion for the crusades had already taken possession of his mind.

1146.

1146.

St. Bernard, abbot of Clervaux, having preached the crusade in France, goes and preaches it again in Germany; but in what language did he preach it then? he did not understand the Teutonic, and he could not speak Latin to the people. He worked abundance of miracles. Perhaps he did: but he did not add the gift of prophecy to these miracles; for he promised in the name of God that the enterprise would be crowned with the greatest success.

The emperor takes the cross at Spire, together with a good number of noblemen.

1147.

Conrad III. makes preparations for the crusade, in the diet of Frankfort. Before his departure he causes his son Henry to be crowned king of the Romans. The imperial council of Rotwell * is established to try causes in the last appeal. This council was composed of twelve barons. The precedency was given as a fief to the house of Schultz, that is, on condition of

* This council, which is still in force at Rotwell, an imperial town in Suabia, though deprived of its former authority, is composed of twelve gentlemen; or, in default of gentlemen, the members are chosen from among the citizens of Rotwell, and the president is the count de Schultz, to whose family that honour belongs in fief. Its jurisdiction extends over the provinces of Suabia, Franconia, Austria, and the Rhine. Nevertheless, the archbishops of Triers and Cologne, the archdukes of Austria, the knights of the Teutonic order, and of the order of Malta, the subjects of the duke of Deux ponts, and of the duke of Wirtemberg, the abbot of St. Blaire, the counts of Hanau, and some others, have a right to decline pleading before this tribunal, *Med. Univ. Hist.*

fealty, homage, and acknowledgment. These kind of fiefs begin to be introduced.

The emperor embarks upon the Danube, with the celebrated bishop of Frisingen, who has written the history of this period, together with those of Ratisbon, Passau, Basil, Metz, and Toul. Frederic Barbarossa, the marquis of Austria, Henry duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Montferrat, are the chief of those princes by whom he was accompanied.

The Germans were the last who came to these expeditions which were at first so splendid, and soon after so unfortunate. The little kingdom of Jerusalem was already erected; the states of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli in Syria, were formed. The counts of Joppa, and the marquisses of Galilee and Sidon were created; but the greatest part of these conquests was lost.

1148.

Intemperance destroys part of the German army. Hence arose the report that the Greek emperor had poisoned the fountains, in order to destroy the crusaders.

Conrad and Lewis the Young, king of France, join their weakened armies near Laodicea. After some battles against the Mussulmans, he goes in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead of making himself master of Damascus, which he afterwards besieges in vain*. He returns almost without an army, in vessels belonging to his brother-in-law Manuel Comnenus, and goes

* The besieged made a furious sally, and were bravely opposed by the emperor in person, who with one stroke cleft a Turk through the middle, to the astonishment and terror of the enemy, who at sight of this exploit fled with great precipitation.

ashore in the gulph of Venice, not daring to go to Italy, much less to present himself at Rome for his coronation.

1148, 1149.

The loss of those prodigious armies of crusaders, in the country where Alexander had with forty thousand men subdued an empire much more powerful than that of the Arabians and Turks, proves to demonstration, that in these enterprizes of the Christians there was some radical vice by which they were necessarily ruined; this was the feudal government, the independence of the chiefs, attended of course by disunion, disorder, and indiscretion.

The only reasonable crusade of those times was that of some Flemish and English noblemen, but chiefly consisting of a number of Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, the Main, and the Weser, who embarked for the relief of Spain, still usurped by the Moors. This was a real danger, which called aloud for assistance; and it was certainly more reasonable to assist Spain against usurpers, than to go to Jerusalem, to which they had no pretension, and where there was nothing to be got. The crusaders took Lisbon, and gave it to king Alphonso.

There was another crusade raised against the Pagans of the North; for the spirit of the Christians of those times, was to go and fight those who were not of their religion. The bishops of Magdebourg, Halberstadt, Munster, Merseburg, and Brandenburg, together with several abbots, excited this crusade. They march with an army of sixty thousand men to convert the *Slaves*, who inhabited Pomerania, Prussia, and the

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the coasts of the Baltick. This crusade was set on foot without consulting the emperor, and even turns against him.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom Conrad had divested of Bavaria, was at the head of the crusade against the Pagans, whom, however, he soon left in tranquility, to go and attack the Christians, and retake Bavaria.

1150.

All the fruit then that the emperor reaped from his travels to Palestine, was a civil war, which at his return he found in Germany under the name of the Holy War. He finds it very difficult, with the assistance of the Bavarians and the rest of Germany, to restrain Henry the Lion and the Guelphs.

1151.

Conrad III. dies at Bamberg, February 15, without having been able to receive the crown in Italy, or leave the kingdom of Germany to his son.



F R E D E R I C K I.

Surnamed B A R B A R O S S A.

TWENTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1152.

FREDERICK I. is elected at Frankfort by the unanimous consent of all the princes. His secretary Amandus, in his annals, extracts of which are still preserved, reports that on this occasion several noblemen of Lombardy gave their

their votes in these terms: "O you *officiates*, (*officiati*) if you consent, Frederick shall have the force of his empire."

Those *officiates* were then six in number; the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, were the three chancellors. There was the great master of the horse, the great steward, the great chamberlain; and since that time they have added the great cup-bearer. It plainly appears that those *officiati* were the first who acknowledged the elected emperor, who signified the election to the people, and took charge of the ceremonial.

The Italian noblemen were present at this election of Frederick. Nothing is more natural. At Frankfort they thought the Roman empire was given, when they gave the crown of Germany; although the king was not called emperor, till after he was crowned at Rome. Barbarossa's predecessor had possessed no authority either in Rome or in Italy; and it was for the interest of the person elected, that the great vassals of the Roman empire should add their suffrages to the votes of the Germans.

The archbishop of Cologne crowns him at Aix-la-Chapelle; and all the bishops give him to understand that he does not possess the empire by right of inheritance. This advertisement was superfluous; the son of the last emperor, whom they abandoned, was a sufficient proof that the empire was not hereditary.

His reign begins with an action of great imposition. Two competitors, Sueno and Canute, had long disputed the kingdom of Denmark; Frederick makes himself umpire, and compels Canute to relinquish his right. Sueno does
homage

homage to the empire for Denmark in the city of Merſburg. He takes the oath of allegiance, and is inveſted by the ſword. Thus, in the miſt of ſo many troubles, we ſee the kings of Poland, Hungary, and Denmark, at the foot of the imperial throne.

1153.

The marquiſate of Auſtria is erected into a duchy, in favour of Henry Jaſamergot, who is ſcarce known, and whoſe poſterity is extinct in about one century after this period.

Henry the Lion, that duke of Saxony of the houſe of Guelph, obtains the inveſtiture of Bavaria, which he had almoſt wholly reconquered, and becomes as zealous a partizan of Frederick Barbaroſſa, as he had been an inveterate enemy to Conrad III.

Pope Eugenius III. ſends two legates to proſecute the archbiſhop of Mentz, who is accused of having diſſipated the revenue of his church, and the emperor permits the proceſs.

1154.

In return for which condeſcenſion, Frederick Barbaroſſa repudiates his wife Mary of Voeburg or Vochenburg, without incurring the diſpleaſure of pope Adrian IV. who then filled the chair at Rome.

1155.

Frederick reſumes the deſigns of his predeceſſor upon Italy. He reduces ſeveral towns of Lombardy, which wanted to become republics; but Milan reſiſts all his power.

He, in the name of his ward, Henry, ſon of Conrad III. ſeizes the lands of the counteſs Ma-thilda, is crowned at Pavia, and ſends deputies to deſire Adrian IV. to crown him in Rome.

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This pope is a great example of what may be done by personal merit and good fortune ; born an Englishman, son of a mendicant, a long time a mendicant himself, strolling from country to country, before he could be received as a servant among the monks in Dauphiny, at length raised to the pinnacle of greatness, he had so much the more elevation of spirit, as he had raised himself from the most abject condition. He was inclined to crown a vassal, but afraid of giving himself a master. The preceding troubles had introduced a custom, that when the emperor came to be consecrated, the pope and people fortified themselves, and the emperor began by swearing that his holiness should be neither killed, mutilated, nor despoiled.

The holy see was protected, as we have seen, by the king of Sicily and Naples, who was become a dangerous neighbour, though a vassal.

The emperor and pope are aware of each other. Adrian, shut up in the fortress of Citta di Castello, agrees to the coronation, as one capitulates with his enemy. A knight, armed at all points, comes and swears to him on the evangelists, that his life and limbs shall be safe ; and the emperor delivers into his hands that famous Arnold of Brescia, who had excited the Roman people against the pontificate, and well nigh established the Roman republic. Arnold is burned at Rome as an heretic ; and a republican sacrificed by two sovereigns, who pretended to despotic power.

The pope visits the emperor, who, according to the new ceremonial, was to kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead his white mule for
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the space of nine Roman spaces. The emperor made no scruple to kiss the feet: but he refused to take hold of the bridle. Then the cardinals fled to the Citta di Castello, as if Frederick Barbarossa had given the signal for a civil war. He was given to understand that Lotharius II. had accepted of this ceremonial of Christian humility: to which at length he submits, and mistaking the stirrup, says he had not yet learned the business of a groom.

The deputies of the Roman people, being more emboldened, since so many towns in Italy had sounded the trumpet of liberty, come and say to Frederick; "We have made you our citizen and prince, stranger as you are, &c." Frederick commands them to be silent, and replies: "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you, I am your master, &c."

Fred erick is consecrated emperor in St. Peter's, June 18.

The nature of the empire was so little known, and all the pretensions were so contradictory, that, on one hand, the Roman people took to arms, and a great deal of blood had been shed, because the people had crowned the emperor without the order of the senate and people: and, on the other hand, pope Adrian wrote in all his letters, that he had conferred upon Frederick the benefice of the Roman empire, *beneficium imperii Romani*. The word *beneficium* then signified a fief.

He moreover exposes in public a picture representing Lotharius II. on his knees before Alexander II. holding his hands clasped between those of the pontif, the distinguishing

mark of vassalage. The inscription of the picture was thus,

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores :
Post, homo fit papæ ; sumit, quo dante, coronam.*

“ The king comes to the door, previously swearing he will maintain the honours of the city: then he becomes the vassal of the pope, from whose bounty he receives the crown.”

1156

We see Frederick already very powerful in Germany: for, at his return, he caused the count Palatine of the Rhine to be condemned in a diet for misdemeanours. According to the new law of Suabia, the penalty was, that the delinquent should carry a dog upon his shoulders a German mile. The archbishop of Mentz is condemned to the same ridiculous punishment: but they are spared the mortification. The emperor causes several small castles belonging to banditti to be demolished. He marries at Wirtzburg the daughter of a count of Burgundy, that is of Franche Comté, and by this match becomes direct lord of that country holding of the empire.

1157.

The Poles refuse to pay their tribute, which was then fixed at five hundred marks of silver. Frederick marches towards Poland. The duke of Poland gives his brother as hostage, submits to the tribute, and pays the arrears.

Frederick repairs to Besançon, now become his own demesne, and there receives the pope's legates, together with ambassadors from almost all the princes. He complains to the legates,
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with great haughtiness, of the term *Benefice*, used by the court of Rome in mentioning the empire; and, of the picture, in which Lotharius II. was represented as a vassal of the holy see. This haughtiness was justified by his glory and his power, as well as by his right. One of the legates having said: "If the emperor does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom then does he hold it?" the count Palatine, by way of answer, would have put them to death: however, the emperor sends them back to Rome.

The rights of regality are confirmed to the archbishop of Lyons, acknowledged by the emperor, as primate of the Gauls. The archbishop's jurisdiction is, by this memorable act, extended over all the fiefs of Savoy. The original patent is still extant. The seal is in a little bull or box of gold. It is from this manner of sealing, that the name of bull has been given to constitutions.

1158.

The emperor grants the title of king to Uladislaus, duke of Bohemia, for his life. The emperor then conferred titles for life, even that of monarch; and a person was king by the emperor's favour, although his dominions were not a kingdom; so that in these beginnings we sometimes find kings, and sometimes dukes of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia.

He marches into Italy; and, at first, the count Palatine, and the emperor's chancellor, who must not be confounded with the chancellor of the empire, go and receive the oaths of several towns, which oaths were conceived in these terms: "I swear I will always be faithful to
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my lord the emperor Frederick against all his enemies, &c." As he was then at variance with the pope, on account of the adventure of the legates at Besançon, these oaths seem to have been exacted against the holy see.

It does not appear, that the popes were then sovereigns of the lands given by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otho I. The emperor's commissaries exercise all the rights of sovereignty in the March of Ancona.

Adrian IV. sends new legates to the emperor at Augsburg, where he assembles his army. Frederick marches to Milan. This was already the most powerful town of Lombardy, in comparison with which Pavia and Ravenna were but inconsiderable. It had made itself free since the time of the emperor Henry V. and was enriched by the fruitfulness of its territory, but, above all things, in consequence of the liberty it enjoyed.

At the emperor's approach it sent to offer him money for the preservation of its liberty. But Frederick wanted both money and submission. The town is besieged, and defends itself. The consuls, in a little time, capitulate. It is deprived of the privilege of coining, and all the rights of regality. The inhabitants are condemned to build a palace for the emperor, and pay 9000 marks of silver. All the citizens take the oath of allegiance. Milan, without a duke or a count, was governed as a conquered town.

Frederick begins to build the new Lodi, on the river Adda. He enacts new laws in Italy, and begins by decreeing, that every town convicted of transgressing these laws shall pay 100 marks of gold,

gold, a marquis shall pay 50, a count 40, and a lord of the manor 20. He likewise ordains that no fief shall be divided: and as the vassals, in doing homage to the lords of the great fiefs, swore to serve them, without distinction, against every person whatsoever; he decrees, that in these oaths the emperor shall always be excepted. A law wisely contrived, and contrary to the feudal customs of France, by which a vassal was obliged to serve his lord in war, even against the king.

The Genoese and Pisans had long ago wrested Corsica and Sardinia from the Saracens, and still disputed the possession with each other. A proof that they were very powerful. But Frederick, more powerful than they, sends commissaries to these two cities, and because he is thwarted by the Genoese, makes them pay a fine of a thousand marks of silver, and hinders them from continuing to fortify their city.

He re-establishes order in the fiefs of the countess Mathilda, no part of which was possessed by the popes; and gives them to one Guelph, cousin to the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His own nephew, the emperor Conrad's son, is forgot. At this period, the university of Bologna, the first of all the European universities, began to be established, and the emperor bestows privileges upon it.

1159.

Frederick I. began to be more master in Italy than Charlemagne or Otho had been. He weakens the pope by supporting the prerogatives of the Roman senators, and still more

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by putting troops in winter quarters in his dominions.

Adrian IV. the better to preserve his temporalities, attacks Frederick Barbarossa with spiritual weapons. The question is no longer about investitures performed with a crooked or straight staff, but about the oath, which the bishops take to the emperor. He treats that ceremony as sacrilege, and, in the mean time, inflames the people by underhand insinuations.

The Milanese take this opportunity to recover a small share of liberty. Frederick orders them to be proclaimed rebels and enemies to the empire; and, by an ordinance, their effects are given up to plunder, and their persons to slavery; an ordinance, which resembles an order of Attila, rather than the constitution of a Christian emperor.

Adrian IV. snatches this opportunity of trouble, to re-demand all the fiefs of the countess Mathilda, the dutchy of Spoleto, together with Sardinia and Corsica. The emperor will give him nothing. He besieges Crema, which had taken part with Milan; it is taken and plundered. Milan has some respite, and for some time enjoys the happiness of owing its liberty to its own courage.

1160.

After the death of Adrian IV. the cardinals are divided. One half elects cardinal Rolando, who takes the name of Alexander III. a declared enemy to the emperor: the other chooses Octavian his partisan, who calls himself Victor. Frederick Barbarossa, by virtue of his rights as emperor, summons a council at Pavia, to decide

cide between the two competitors. Alexander refuses to acknowledge that council. Victor appears, and the council decides in his favour. The emperor kisses his feet, and leads his horse, as he had before behaved to Adrian.

Alexander III. retires to Agnani, excommunicates the emperor, and absolves his subjects of their oath of allegiance. It plainly appears that the pope depended upon the assistance of the kings of Naples and Sicily.

1161.

The Milanese take advantage of these divisions. They have the courage to attack the imperial army at Carentia, a few miles from Lodi, and obtain a great victory. If the other towns of Italy had seconded Milan, this was the moment to deliver that fine country for ever from a foreign yoke.

1162.

The emperor repairs his army and his affairs. The Milanese, being blocked up, are in want of provisions, and capitulate. The consuls and eight knights come to Lodi, and lay their swords at the emperor's feet. He revokes the decree, by which the citizens were condemned to servitude, and their town to plunder; but as soon as he enters it, on the 27th of March, he orders the gates, ramparts, and all the public edifices, to be demolished, and the ruins to be sowed with salt. Neither Huns, Goths, nor Lombards, had treated Italy in this manner.

The Genoese, who pretended to be free, come and take the oath of allegiance; and while they protest they will not pay annual tribute, give him 1200 marks of silver: they promise to equip a fleet to assist the emperor in conquering

Sicily and Apulia; and Frederick gives them as a fief what is called The Riviera of Genoa, from Monaco to Porto-venere.

He marches to Bologna, which was confederate with Milan; and though he protects the colleges, orders the walls to be dismantled. Every thing submits to his power.

Mean while the empire makes conquests in the North. The duke of Saxony conquers Mecklenburg, the country of the Vandals, and transplants thither German colonies.

To make the triumph of Frederick Barbarossa complete, his enemy pope Alexander III. flies from Italy and retires to France. Frederick goes to Besançon, in order to intimidate the king of France, and detach him from Alexander's party,

It is in the zenith of his power, that he summons the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary, to come at his order, and give their votes in a diet against a pope. Waldemar I. king of Denmark, obeys and repairs to Besançon, where he is said to have taken the oath of fidelity only for the rest of Vandalia, which was abandoned to his conquests. Others alledge he renewed the homage for Denmark. If that was the case, he was the last king of Denmark who did homage for his kingdom to the empire. By this circumstance the year 1162 becomes a very important year.

1163.

The emperor goes to Mentz, where the people, excited by the monks, had murdered the archbishop: he orders the walls of the town to be razed, and they were not rebuilt for a long time.

1164.

1164.

Erfort, the capital of Thuringia, a town which the archbishop of Mentz pretended to be lord of since Otho I. is surrounded with walls, at the very time when those of Mentz are destroyed.

The establishment of the society of hans-towns. This union had begun at Hamburg and Lubeck, which carried on some trade in imitation of the maritime towns of Italy: they soon became useful and powerful in furnishing at least the necessaries of life to the North of Germany; and since that time, when Lubeck, which belonged to the famous Henry the Lion, by whom it was fortified, was declared an imperial town by Frederick Barbarossa, and the first of the maritime towns: when it had the privilege of coining money, that money was the best coined in all that country, where till that time none had been struck, but of a very base alloy. Hence the money called Sterling, or Esterling, is supposed to have been derived; and hence London counted by pounds sterling, when it was associated with the hans-towns.

The same thing happens to the emperor which had happened to all his predecessors. Leagues are formed against him in Italy, while he himself is in Germany. Rome leagues with Venice by means of Alexander III. Venice, impregnable by its situation, is formidable for its wealth: it had acquired great riches in the crusades, in which the Venetians had hitherto no share, except as dextrous merchants.

Frederick returns to Italy and ravages the Veronese, which belonged to the league: his pope Victor dies: he causes another to be con-

secrated by a bishop of Liege in contempt of all laws. This usurper takes the name of Paschal.

Sardinia was then governed by four bailiffs: one of these, who had amassed wealth, comes and demands the title of King from Frederick, and actually receives it: he trebles the taxes every-where, and returns to Germany with money enough to render him formidable.

1165.

A diet at Wurtzburg against Alexander III. The emperor exacts an oath from all the princes and bishops, that they would not acknowledge Alexander. This diet is famous by the deputies of England, who come to give an account of the rights of the king and people against the pretensions of the church of Rome.

Frederick, in order to make his pope Paschal more considerable, causes him to canonize Charlemagne. Aix-la-Chapelle takes the title of Capital of the Empire, though in effect it was not so. It obtains the privilege of coining money.

1166.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having prodigiously augmented his dominions, the emperor is not sorry to see a confederacy in Germany against that prince. A bold and enterprising archbishop of Cologne joins with several other bishops, together with the count palatine, the count of Thuringia, and the marquis of Brandenburg. A bloody war is carried on against Henry the Lion. The emperor leaves them to fight it out, and repairs again to Italy.

1167.

1167.

The Pisans and Genoese plead at Lodi before the emperor for the possession of Sardinia, which neither obtains.

Frederick goes and lays the Pentapolis under contribution, although it had been solemnly ceded to the popes by so many emperors, and was incontestibly the patrimony of the church.

The league between Venice and Rome, and the hatred inspired by Frederick's despotic power, engage Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara and other towns, to unite with the Milanese. All these towns and the Romans took arms at the same time.

The Romans attack part of the imperial army near Tusculum: it was commanded by an archbishop of Mentz, very famous in those days, called Christiern, and by the archbishop of Cologne. It was a strange spectacle to see these two priests thundering out a German song to animate their troops to battle.

But what strongly denoted the decay of Rome, the Romans were entirely defeated, though ten times more numerous than the Germans.

Frederick then marches from Ancona to Rome, which he attacks: he burns the town Leonini, and the church of St. Peter is almost consumed.

Pope Alexander flies to Beneventum. The emperor causes himself to be crowned with the empress Beatrice, by his anti-pope Paschal, in the ruins of St. Peter.

From thence Frederick marches back with great expedition against the confederate towns. The plague, by which his army is desolated for some time, contributes to their safety. The

German troops, though victorious over the Romans, were often vanquished by intemperance and the heat of the climate.

Alexander III. finds the secret of engaging at once in his party Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, and William king of Sicily, natural enemy of the Greeks; so much did they think it was or their common interest to unite against Barbarossa.

In effect, these two powers send money and some troops to the pope. The emperor, at the head of an army very much diminished, sees the Milanese rebuild their walls under his very nose, and almost all Lombardy in a conspiracy against him: he retires towards the country of Morienne: the Milanese, emboldened, pursue him to the mountains: he escapes with great difficulty, and retreats to Alsace, while he is excommunicated by the pope.

Italy breathes again in consequence of his retreat. The Milanese fortify themselves; and build, at the foot of the Alps, the town of Alexandria, in honour of the pope.

This year Lunenburg begins to be a town.

The bishop of Wirtzburg obtains civil jurisdiction in the duchy of Franconia. It was in consequence of this grant that his successors have had the direction of the circle of that name.

Guelph, cousin-german of the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on his death-bed, leaves to the emperor the duchy of Spoleto and the marquisate of Tuscany, with his right to Sardinia, a country claimed by so many

~~many~~ competitors, abandoned to itself and its bailiffs, one of whom called himself King.

1169.

Frederic causes his eldest son Henry to be elected king of the Romans, while he himself is on the brink of losing Rome and Italy for ever.

Some months after, he causes his second son Frederick to be elected duke of Germany, and secures to him the duchy of Suabia. Foreign authors have imagined that Frederick had given all Germany to this son; but it was no more than antient Germany, properly so called. There was no other king of Germany than the emperor.

1170.

Frederick is no longer recognisable. Instead of going to fight, he negotiates with the Pope. His armies and his treasure were then diminished.

The Danes take Stetin. Henry the Lion, instead of assisting the emperor to recover Italy, takes the cross with the Saxon knights, in order to go and fight in Palestine.

1171.

Henry the Lion, finding a truce established in Asia, returns by the way of Egypt. The sultan had a mind to astonish Europe by his magnificence and generosity: he loads the duke of Saxony and Bavaria with presents, and, among other things, gives him fifteen hundred Arabian horses.

1172.

At length the emperor convenes a diet at Worms, and demands assistance from Germany to reduce Italy under his power.

He begins by sending a small ~~army~~ ^{force} commanded by that same archbishop of Mentz, who had defeated the Romans.

The towns of Lombardy were confederated, but jealous one of another. Lucca was a mortal enemy of Pisa; ~~she~~ ^{they} hated Pisa and Florence; and by these divisions Italy was lost.

Christiern, archbishop of Mentz, dextrously succeeds in detaching the Venetians from the league; but Milan, Pavia, Florence, Cremona, Parma, and Bologna, are unshaken, and Rome supports them.

Mean while Frederick is obliged to go and appease the troubles in Bohemia, where he deposes Ladislaus, and gives the regency to the son of that prince. He could not be more absolute than he was in Germany, or more impotent than he was at that very time on the other side of the Alps.

1174.

At length he passes Mount Cenis; besieges that Alexandria which was built in his absence, and the name of which was odious to him; and begins by signifying to the inhabitants, that, if they would have the presumption to defend themselves, he would spare neither age nor sex.

1175.

The Alexandrians, assisted by the confederate towns, make a sally upon the Imperialists, whom they defeat, in imitation of the Milanese. The emperor's disgrace is completed by his being abandoned by Henry the Lion, who retires with the Saxons, very ill disposed towards Barbarossa, who kept for himself the lands of Mathilda.

Italy.

~~Italy~~ then seemed to be upon the eve of being freed for ever.

1176.

Frederick receives reinforcements from Germany. The archbishop of Mentz is at the other end of Italy, in the march of Ancona, with his troops.

The war is pushed with great vivacity on both sides. The Milanese infantry, armed with pikes, defeats the whole imperial household troops. Frederick escapes with difficulty from the pursuit of the conquerors; he conceals himself, and at length takes shelter in Pavia.

This victory * was the signal of the liberty of the Italians for several years: they could then be hurt by none but themselves. The haughty Frederick anticipates at last, and solicits pope Alexander, who had retired long ago to Anagni, equally afraid of the Romans, who would have no master, and of the emperor, who wanted to be master.

Frederick offers him his assistance to retrieve his authority in Rome, to restore the patrimony of St. Peter, and give him part of the lands of the countess Mathilda. A congress is assembled at Bologna.

* About the same time he was defeated at sea by the Venetians, and his eldest son Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. The pope, in honour of this victory, sailed out into the open sea, accompanied by the whole senate; and after having pronounced a thousand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring, as a mark of his gratitude and affection. This is the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of espousing the Adriatic sea.

1177.

The pope causes the congress to be transferred to Venice, where he arrives in the ships of the king of Sicily. The ambassadors of Sicily, and the deputies of the Lombard towns, are the first who go thither. Christian, archbishop of Mentz, goes to conclude the peace.

It is difficult to explain how that peace, which ought to have secured the repose of the popes, and the liberty of the Italians, was no more than a truce for six years with the Lombard towns, and of fifteen with Sicily. There was no question about the lands of the countess Mathilda, which had been the basis of the treaty.

Every thing being concluded, the emperor repairs to Venice. The duke conducts him in his gondola to St. Mark. The pope waited for him at the gate, with the tiara upon his head. The emperor, without his cloak, conducts him to the chair, with a beadle's staff in his hand.

The pope preaches in Latin, which Frederick did not understand. After sermon, the emperor comes and kisses the pope's feet, takes the communion from his hand, leads his mule in the square of St. Mark, when he comes from church: and Alexander III. cries aloud, "It hath pleased God that an old man and a priest should triumph over a powerful and terrible emperor." All Italy looks upon Alexander III. as its deliverer and father.

The peace was sworn upon the evangelists by twelve princes of the empire. These treaties were hardly ever written at that time. There were few clauses. The oaths were sufficient. Few of the German princes could read, or sign
their

their names, and the pen was seldom used but at Rome. This period resembles those savage times called heroic.

Nevertheless, they exact from the emperor a particular act, sealed with his own seal, by which he promises not to disturb the towns of Italy for six years.

1178.

How durst Frederick Barbarossa, after that, pass through Milan, the people of which had defeated him, after he had treated them as slaves? thither he went, however, on his return to Germany.

Other troubles harrassed that vast, warlike, powerful, and unfortunate country, in which there was not then one town comparable to any of the middling towns of Italy.

Henry the Lion, master of Saxony and Bavaria, still made war upon several bishops, as the emperor had warred against the pope.

He sunk like him, and even by means of the emperor himself.

The archbishop of Cologne, assisted by one half of Westphalia, the archbishop of Magdeburg, and a bishop of Halberstadt, were oppressed by Henry the Lion, and did him all the mischief in their power. Almost all Germany embraced their party.

1179.

Henry the Lion is the fourth duke of Bavaria that was put to the ban of the empire in the diet of Goslar. A powerful army was required to execute this decree. That prince was more powerful than the emperor. He at that time commanded from Lubeck to the middle of Westphalia. He had besides Bavaria, Stiria, and Car-

rinthia. His enemy, the archbishop of Cologne, is charged with the execution of the ban.

Among the vassals of the empire who bring troops to the archbishop of Cologne; we see one Philip count of Flanders as well as a count of Hainault, a duke of Brabant, &c. This circumstance might make one believe, that what is properly called Flanders, always considered itself as a member of the empire, although a part of France; such uncertainty attends the feudal right.

Duke Henry defends himself in Saxony, takes Thuringia and Hesse, and defeats the army of the archbishop.

The greatest part of Germany is ravaged by that civil war; the natural effect of the feudal government. It is even strange that it did not oftener produce this effect.

1180.

After various success, the emperor holds a diet in the castle of Gelnhausen near the Rhine. There the proscription of Henry the Lion is renewed and confirmed. There Frederick gives Saxony to Bernard d'Anhalt, son of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg. He gives him likewise part of Westphalia. The house of Anhalt must then have become the most powerful in Germany.

Bavaria is granted to Otho count of Vitelsbach, chief of the emperor's court of justice. From this Otho Vitelsbach are descended the two electoral houses of Bavaria, which after so many misfortunes still subsist. They owe their greatness to Frederick Barbarossa.

As soon as those noblemen were invested, each falls upon Henry the Lion, and the emperor puts himself at the head of the army.

1181.

They take from duke Henry Luneburg, of which he was master; they attack Lubeck, of which he was protector; and Waldemar king of Denmark ~~attacks~~ the emperor in the siege.

Lubeck, which was already rich, dreading to fall under the power of Denmark, surrenders to the emperor, who declares it an imperial town, capital of the towns upon the Baltic, with permission to coin money.

Duke Henry being no longer able to resist, goes and throws himself at the feet of the emperor, who promises to maintain him in possession of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, the remains of so many dominions which are taken from him.

Henry the Lion goes to London with his wife to his father-in-law king Henry II. She brings him a son called Otho, who was afterwards emperor, under the name of Otho IV. and from a brother of this Otho IV. are descended the princes who now reign in England. So that the dukes of Brunswick, the kings of England, and the dukes of Modena, are all derived from one common origin, and that origin is Italian.

1182.

Germany is then quiet. Frederick abolishes several barbarous customs; among others, that of plundering the moveables of the dead; an horrible right, which all the citizens of the towns exercised at the decease of a burgher, at the expence of his heirs; and which always produced bloody quarrels, though moveables at that time were of small importance.

All the cities of Lombardy enjoy a profound peace, and respire new life.

The Romans still persist in the notion of withdrawing themselves from the power of the popes, as well as from that of the emperors. They expel from Rome pope Lucius III. the successor of Alexander.

The same Christiern, archbishop of Mentz, still the emperor's general, marches with an army to the assistance of the pope, but dies at Tusculum.

The senate lords it in Rome. Some clerks, supposed to be spies from Pope Lucius III. are sent back to him without their eyes. A piece of inhumanity unworthy of the Roman name.

1183.

Frederick I. declares Ratisbon an imperial town. He detaches Tirol from Bavaria, and likewise dismembers it of Stiria, which he erects into a duchy.

The celebrated congress held at Placentia, April 30, between the emperor's commissaries and the deputies of all the towns in Lombardy. Even those of Venice were present. They agree that the emperor may exact the oath of fidelity from his vassals of Italy; and that they are obliged to march to his assistance, in case he should be attacked in his journey to Rome, which is called the Roman expedition,

They stipulate that the towns and the vassals shall furnish the emperor in his passage with nothing but ordinary forage, and provisions for the month.

The emperor grants them the right of having troops, fortifications, and tribunals, without appeal, in causes to the amount of fifty marks of silver, and that no cause shall ever be reheard in Germany.

If

~~If~~ in these towns the bishop has the title of count, he shall preserve the right of electing consuls in his episcopal town; and if the bishop is not in possession ~~of~~ that right, it is reserved to the emperor.

This treaty, which made Italy free under a chief, has been long considered by the Italians as the foundation of their public right.

The marquis of Malaspina and the counts of Crema are therein specially named, and the emperor transacts with them as with the other towns. All the lords of the fiefs in general are therein comprehended.

In all probability the deputies of Venice signed this treaty only for the fiefs they possessed on the continent; as for the city of Venice, it would not put its liberty and independence upon any such compromise.

1184.

A great diet at Mentz, where the emperor again causes his son Henry to be acknowledged king of the Romans.

He knights his two sons Henry and Frederick: he is the first emperor who thus knighted his sons with the ceremonies then used. The new knight watched his arms; afterwards he was put in the bath; then he came to receive the kiss and cuff in a tunic: his spurs were buckled on by knights: he dedicated his sword to God and the saints: he was cloathed with an epitoge or loose robe: but what was the most whimsical part of the farce, he was served at dinner without being allowed to eat or drink.

The emperor goes to Verona, whither Lucius III. had retired on his expulsion from Rome, and there a small council was held.

The

enterprize concerning which a wife ought to have been by this time disabled. What strongly marks the character of the times, he sends a count of the empire to Saladin to demand in a formal manner Jerusalem and the true cross.

We here see a remarkable example of the spirit of the times. It was to be feared that Henry *the Lion*, in the emperor's absence, would make an attempt to recover the dominions of which he had been despoiled. He is obliged to swear that he will make no attempt during the holy war. He swears, and his oath is believed.

1189.

Frederick Barbarossa, with his son Frederick duke of Suabia, marches through Austria and Hungary with above a hundred thousand crusaders. If he could have led such an army of volunteers to Rome, he would have been emperor indeed. The first enemies he finds are the Christian Greeks of the empire of Constantinople. The Greek emperor and the crusaders had always found subject of complaint against one another.

The emperor of Constantinople was Isaacus Angelus. He refuses to give the title of Emperor to Frederick, whom he regards as king of Germany only, and he signifies to him that if he had a mind to obtain a passage, he must give hostages. We see in the constitutions of Goldast the letters of these two emperors. Isaacus Angelus gives Frederick no other title than that of advocate of the Roman church. Frederick by way of answer calls Angelus a dog. Yet after this, we are astonished at the epithets given

one another by Homer's heroes in
nes still more heroic !

Frederick had ^{10.} gained the passage sword
In hand defeats the sultan of Iconium, takes
his city, passes Mount Taurus, and dies of the
plague * after his victory, leaving a reputation
famous for inequality and greatness, and a me-
mory much more dear to Germany than to
Italy.

He is said to have been buried in Tyre, but
we do not really know what place contains the
ashes of an emperor who made so much noise
in his life-time. His success in Asia must have
been much less solid than shining; for his son
Frederick of Suabia had no more than an army
of about seven or eight thousand fighting men
left out of above an hundred thousand who ar-
rived in those parts.

The son soon died of the plague like his fa-
ther; and nobody remained in Asia but Leopold
duke of Austria with a few knights. Thus ter-
minated every crusade.

* Barre says expressly, that he was drowned in the river
Cydnus, and that his body was buried at Tyre. This is
the same river into which Alexander the Great, plunging
when he was warm, was seized with a sudden chillness,
which produced a dangerous fever: In all probability Bar-
barossa owed his death to the same cause; being an expert
swimmer, he ventured to bathe in the river while warm, and
the extreme coldness of its water, (for which it is remark-
able) suddenly checking the perspiration, excited a fever,
which proved fatal, because perhaps, he had not a physician
equal in skill to Philip the Macedonian.

H E N R Y

H E N R Y VI.

T W E N T Y - T H I R D E M P E R O R .

1190.

HENRY VI. already twice acknowledged and crowned during his father's life, does not renew that ceremony, but reigns in full right and power.

Henry *the Lion*, the old duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who possessed so many towns, and very little regarded the oath he took to abstain from all attempts to recover his fortune. He had already entered Holstein, and his party was espoused by the bishops, particularly the bishop of Bremen.

Henry VI. gives him battle near Verden, and is conqueror. At last peace is made with that prince, who was so often proscribed and so often in arms. He is left in possession of Brunswick after it is dismantled. He divides with the count of Holstein the title of lord of Lubeck, which still continues a free town under its lords.

The emperor Henry VI. having secured Germany by this victory and peace, turns his thoughts towards Italy. There he might have been more powerful than Charlemagne and the Othos, as being direct possessor of the lands of Mathilda, king of Naples in right of his wife, and lord paramount of all the rest.

1191.

He was obliged to look after this inheritance of Naples and Sicily. The noblemen of the country were not at all desirous of seeing that king-

which had become flourishing in so little a time, a subjected province of Germany. The blood of those French gentlemen who had by their courage become their kings and countrymen, was not dear to him. They elected Tancred, son of prince Roger, and grandson of their good king Roger. This prince Tancred was not born of a marriage deemed legitimate. But how many bastards have before him inherited the greatest kingdoms? Besides, the will of the people and election seem the first of all rights.

The emperor treats with the Genoese about furnishing a fleet with which he may go and dispute Apuglia and Sicily. Merchants are able to do that which the emperor could not do of himself. He confirms the privileges of the towns of Lombardy, to engage them in his favour. He behaves respectfully to Pope Celestin III. an old man turned of fourscore, who, tho' not a priest, had been elected.

The ceremony of the exaltation of popes, in those days, was performed in this manner; as soon as they were nominated, they were clothed with a red cope. They were conducted to a stone pulpit through which there was a hole, called *Stercorarium*: then to a pulpit of porphyry, where they were presented with two keys, that of the church of the Lateran, and that of the palace, the origin of the pope's arms; from thence to a third pulpit, where he was presented with a silken girdle, and a purse with twelve stones, in imitation of the ephod of the high priest of the Jews. It is not known at what period these customs began.

gan. Thus was Celestin exalted before ~~he was~~ a priest.

On the emperor's arrival at Rome, the pope caused himself to be ordained priest on Easter-eve, next day he is consecrated bishop, and the day after, consecrates Henry VI. with the empress Constance.

Roger de Hoveden, an Englishman, is the only author who relates that the pope ~~lacked~~ down the crown with which the emperor was to be adorned, and that it was set up again by the cardinals. He mistakes an accident for a ceremony *. It has been likewise supposed to be a mark of pride, equally brutal and ridiculous. Either the pope doted, or the adventure is not true.

The emperor, in order to render the pope favourable to him in his expedition of Naples and Sicily, restores to him the ancient town of Tusculum. The pope gives it to the Roman people, whose municipal government still subsisted. The Romans demolished it entirely: in this particular they seem to have adopted the destructive spirit of the Goths and Heruli who settled among them.

Nevertheless, old Celestin III. as Paramount of Naples and Sicily, dreading a powerful vassal, who would not yield obedience, forbids the emperor to attempt that conquest: a prohibition as ridiculous as kicking the crown, seeing

* Who told M. de Voltaire that this was an accident? It was such an instance of insolence as cardinal Pandulpho afterwards exhibited to John, king of England, at Dover, with a view to demonstrate the dependence of that kingdom on the see of Rome.

not hinder the emperor from marching to Naples.

Disease destroys the German troops in hot and fruitful countries. One half of the imperial army dies upon the way to Naples.

Constance the emperor's wife is at Salerno delivered to king Tancred, who generously sends her back to her husband.

1192.

The emperor postpones his enterprize upon Naples and Sicily, and goes to Worms. He makes Conrad, one of his brothers, duke of Suabia. He gives to Philip another brother, who was afterwards emperor, the duchy of Spoleto, which he takes from the house of the Guelphs.

The establishment of the knights of the Teutonic order, destined at first for the service of the sick in Palestine, and since become conquerors. The first house they have in Germany, is built at Coblentz.

Henry *the Lion* renews his pretensions, and resumes his arms. He makes no attempt upon Saxony, or Bavaria, but falls again upon Holstein, and loses all that he had left elsewhere.

1193.

At that time Saladine the great, drove all the Christians from Syria. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, after having performed exploits equally admirable and ineffectual, returns like the rest *. He was upon bad terms with the

* Richard's generosity in this expedition was equal to his valour; for, in order to compromise the difference between Guy de Luzignan and Conrad, who disputed the crown of Jerusalem, he presented the first with the kingdom of Cyprus, which he had conquered in his voyage to Palestine,

the emperor, and upon worse with Leopold duke of Austria, on account of a childish quarrel about a point of honour, which had happened between them in the unfortunate wars of the East. He passes through the duke's territories; and that prince puts him in irons, contrary to the oath of all the Crusards, contrary to the respect due to royalty, and contrary to the honour and law of nations.

The duke of Austria delivers his prisoner to the emperor. Eleonora wife of Richard *Cœur de Lion* *, finding herself unable to revenge, offers to ransom her husband. This ransom is said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver. That is about two millions of German crowns; and considering the scarcity of money and the price of provisions, that sum would be equivalent to forty millions of crowns in our time †. Historians perhaps have

Palestine. Being, after many signal exploits, deserted by Philip Augustus, and other European allies, he concluded a truce for three years with Saladine, on condition that Ascalon should be demolished, that the Christians should fortify Joppa, and occupy all the places on the sea coast.

* She was his mother.

† Computing the mark at eight ounces of silver, and each ounce at five shillings, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand marks, amounts to three hundred thousand pounds sterling. That the ransom of Richard could not be less than this sum, may be judged from the following circumstances. Every military tenant was, by the feudal law, and the nature of his tenure, obliged to give aid for the ransom of his lord from captivity. This soccage was raised in England, together with a talliage or hydage upon cities, boroughs, and manors, belonging to the crown, or in the king's hands, by escheat. Besides these, great sums were raised from the voluntary contributions of the people, zealous for the king's release. The parochial clergy granted

have taken one hundred and fifty thousand marks, (*marcas*) for an hundred and fifty thousand marks, which were no more than half livres. These mistakes are but too common.

Whatever the ransom was, the emperor Henry VI. who had no other right to it than that of banditti, received it as basely, as he had unjustly detained Richard. It is likewise said that he compelled him to do homage for the kingdom of England. Vain homage indeed ! Richard would have been far from deserving the surname of *Cœur de Lion*, if he had stooped to such abject submission.

A bishop of Prague is made duke or king of Bohemia. He purchases his investiture from Henry VI. for a sum of money.

Henry *the Lion*, now seventy years of age, marries his son, who bears the title of count of Brunswick, to Agnes daughter of Conrad count Palatine the emperor's uncle. Agnes loved the count of Brunswick : this marriage, to which the emperor consents, reconciles him to the old duke, who dies soon after, leaving Brunswick at least to his descendants.

1194.

It is probable that the emperor Henry VI. ransomed king Richard, and invested the episcopal king of Bohemia, on purpose to have wherewithal to conquer Naples and Sicily.

one tenth of their tythes ; the bishops, abbots, and nobility, freely parted with a fourth of their income ; the cisterians gave up all their revenue of wool for one year ; the parishes melted down their sacred chalices ; the cathedrals and monasteries sold their plate and treasures to the amount of thirty thousand marks, on promise of being reimbursed after the king's return.

Tancred, his competitor, dies. Henry chooses his son William, though a child, in his room; a plain proof that it was not so much Tancred as the nation which disputed the throne of Naples with the emperor.

The Genoese furnish Henry with the fleet they had promised, and to this the Pisans add twelve galleys. The emperor with these forces furnished by the Italians to enslave Italy, appears before Naples, which surrenders; and, while he is besieging Palermo and Catania in Sicily, Tancred's widow, being shut up in Salerno, capitulates, and yields up the two kingdoms, on condition that her son William shall have the principality of Tarentum. Thus, an hundred years after Robert and Roger had conquered Sicily, the fruit of the toils of the French knights falls into the hands of the house of Suabia.

The Genoese demand of the emperor the execution of the treaty he had made with them; the restitution of some lands, as therein stipulated, and the confirmation of their privileges in Sicily granted by king Roger. Henry VI. answers to this effect: "When you shall have convinced me that you are really free, and do not owe me a fleet in quality of vassals, I will keep the promise I have made." Then, joining the most atrocious cruelty to perfidy and ingratitude, he orders Tancred's body to be dug up and decapitated by the hands of the hangman: he orders William, the son of Tancred, to be castrated and sent prisoner to Cairo, where his eyes are put out. The queen his mother and her daughters are conducted to Germany, and shut up in a convent of Alace.

Henry

Henry carries off part of the treasure which had been amassed by the kings. And mankind allow such men to rule them !

1195.

Henry of Brunswick, son of the Lion, obtains the palatinate after the death of the Palatine Conrad his father-in-law.

A new crusade is published at Worms. Henry VI. promises to go and fight for Jesus Christ.

1196.

The zeal of those ultramarine voyages increased by misfortune, just as religions have been strengthened by persecution. A sister of Philip Augustus king of France, widow of Bela king of Hungary, puts herself at the head of the German crusards, and goes to Palestine to experience the fate of all those who had gone before her. Henry VI. orders another part of the crusard army to march into Italy, where it could be more useful to him than at Jerusalem.

1197.

This is one of the most curious and interesting points of history. The great Belgic chronicle relates, that Henry not only caused his son Frederick II. a child in the cradle, to be elected by two and fifty noblemen or bishops ; but likewise declared the empire hereditary, and decreed that Naples and Sicily should be incorporated for ever with the empire. If Henry VI. could make such laws, he made them without doubt ; and he was formidable enough to make them without contradiction. Certain it is, his epitaph at Panormia imports, that he reunited Sicily to the empire : but the popes soon rendered that reunion ineffectual ; and at his death

it plainly appeared that the right of ~~the crown~~ was still dear to the noblemen of Germany.

Mean while Henry VI. marched to Naples over land : all the noblemen of that country were incensed against him, and a general insurrection was to be feared : he strips them of their fiefs : which he bestows upon the Germans or Italians of his own party. 'Despair forms the conspiracy which the emperor wanted to prevent. One count Jordani, of the house of the Norman princes, puts himself at the head of the people : he is delivered up to the emperor, who causes him to be put to death by a torture which one would imagine an imitation of the fabulous tyrants of antiquity : he is tied naked on a chair of red hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the same metal burning hot, nailed to his head.

1198.

Then the emperor allows the rest of the German crusards to depart. They land in Cyprus. The bishop of Wurtzburg, by whom they are conducted, gives the crown of Cyprus to Emeri de Lusignan, who chose rather to be a vassal of the German than of the Greek empire.

This same Emeri de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, marries Isabella daughter of the last king of Jerusalem ; and from hence comes the title of king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, which several sovereigns have disputed in Europe.

The German crusards meet with various fortune in Asia. In the mean time Henry VI. remains in Sicily with a small number of troops ; and this security is the cause of his ruin : they conspire at Naples and in Sicily against the tyrant : his own wife Constance is
the

the soul of the conspiracy. They betake themselves to arms on all hands. Constance forsakes her cruel husband, and puts herself at the head of the conspirators. All the Germans found in Sicily are murdered. This is the first stroke of the Sicilian vespers, afterwards tolled under Charles of France. Henry is fain to capitulate with his wife: he dies, and, it is said, of poison which his wife gave him; a crime perhaps excusable in a woman who revenged her family and country, if poisoning, and especially poisoning a husband, can ever be justified.



PHILIP I.

TWENTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1198.

AT first the noblemen and bishops assembled at Arnberg, in Thuringia, grant the administration of Germany to Philip duke of Suabia, uncle to Frederick II. a minor, who had been already acknowledged as king of the Romans. Thus the true emperor was Frederick II. but other noblemen, being incensed to see an elective empire become hereditary, choose another king at Cologne; and elect the least powerful, in order to be powerful under his name. This pretended king or emperor called Bertold, duke of a small part of Swisserland, soon renounced the vain honour which he could not maintain. Then the assembly of Cologne elect Otho duke of Brunswick, son of Henry

the Lion. The electors were the duke of Lorraine, a count of Kuke, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Minden, Paderborn, the abbot of Corbie, and two other abbots, who were benedictine monks.

Philip must likewise be nominated emperor; and is elected at Erfort. Here are four emperors in one year, but not one of them an emperor indeed.

Otho of Brunswick was in England; and Richard king of England, who had been so unworthily treated by Henry VI. and was justly the enemy of the house of Suabia, espoused the party of Brunswick; of consequence Philip Augustus, king of France, declares for the other emperor Philip.

Here was another opportunity for the towns of Italy to shake off the German yoke: they became daily more and more powerful; but even that power creates divisions among them. Some held for Otho of Brunswick, and others for Philip of Suabia. Pope Innocent III. remains neuter between the competitors. Germany suffers all the mischiefs of a civil war.

1199. 1200.

In these intestine troubles of Germany, nothing is seen but change of party, agreements made and infringed, and weakness on all sides: nevertheless Germany is still called the Roman Empire.

The empress Constance stays in Sicily with her son prince Frederick. There she was in peace; there she was regent; and nothing could more plainly prove that she had conspired against her husband Henry VI. than her retaining, in obedience to her son, those very people

who

who had taken arms against the father. Naples and Sicily, in young Frederick, loved the son of Constance, and the blood of their own kings. They did not even regard this Frederick II. as the son of Henry VI. and, in all probability, he really was not; seeing his mother, when she demanded for him, the investiture of Naples and Sicily of pope Celestin. III. had been obliged to swear that Henry VI. was his father.

The famous pope Innocent III. son of a count of Segni, having taken possession of the papal chair, a new investiture was required. Here begins a very singular quarrel, which, after the lapse of above five hundred years, continues still undetermined.

We have seen those knights of Normandy, who became prince and kings of Naples and Sicily, holding at first of the emperors, and afterwards doing homage to the Pope. When Roger, as yet no more than count of Sicily, gave new laws to that island, which he at one time won from the Mahometans and Greeks, when he restored so many churches to the Roman communion, pope Urban II. solemnly granted him the power of the legates *à latere*, and of legates born of the holy see. These legates judged all ecclesiastical causes in the last appeal, conferred benefits, and levied tithes. Since that time the kings of Sicily were in fact legates and vicars of the holy see, and really popes in their own kingdom: they had in reality the power of the two swords. This sole privilege, which so many kings might have arrogated to themselves, was no-where known but in Sicily. The successors of pope Urban II. had confirmed this prerogative, either by good will or com-

pulsion. Celestin III. had not contested it; but Innocent III. opposed it; treated the legation of the kings of Sicily as having been surreptitiously obtained; and demanded that Constance would renounce it in the name of her son, and do liege, pure and simple homage for Sicily.

Constance dies before this order is obeyed, and leaves to the pope the tutelage of king and kingdom.

1201.

Innocent III. will not own Philip for emperor; but acknowledges Otho, to whom he writes: "By the authority of God derived to us, we receive you, and order you to be obeyed as king of the Romans; and, after the usual preliminaries, we will give you the imperial crown."

Philip Augustus king of France, partizan of Philip of Suabia, and enemy to Otho, writes to the pope in favour of Philip; and Innocent III. answers: "Either Philip must lose the empire, or I lose the pontificate."

1202.

Innocent III. publishes a new crusade, in which the Germans have no concern. It was in this crusade that the Christians of the West took Constantinople, instead of assisting the Holy Land; it was this that extended the power and dominions of Venice.

1203.

The northern parts of Germany became weak in these troubles. The Danes make themselves masters of Vandalia, which is part of Russia and Pomerania. It is difficult to ascertain its limits. Were there any limits then in those barbarous

barous countries ! Holstein, annexed to Denmark, no longer acknowledged the empire.

1204.

The duke of Brabant acknowledges Philip for emperor, and does him homage.

1205.

Several noblemen follow that example. Philip is consecrated at Aix by the archbishop of Cologne. The civil war continues in Germany.

1206.

Otho, being defeated by Philip near Cologne, flies for refuge to England. Then the pope consents to abandon him: he promises to take off Philip's excommunication, incurred by every prince who calls himself emperor, without the permission of the holy see: he will acknowledge him as lawful emperor, provided he will give his sister in marriage to a nephew of his Holiness, and bestow upon her, by way of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, and the marche of Ancona. These are strange proposals: the marche of Ancona properly belonging to the holy see. Philip rejects the pope's proposal, choosing rather to be excommunicated, than to part with such a dower: nevertheless, by releasing an archbishop of Cologne, who was his prisoner, he obtains his absolution without making the match.

1207.

Otho returns from England to Germany, where he appears seemingly without partizans, though doubtless he must have had private friends, seeing he did return.

1208.

Count Otho, who was palatine in Bavaria, assassinates

assassinates the emperor at Bamberg, and makes his escape very easily.



O T H O IV

T W E N T Y - F I F T H I M P E R O R .

OTHO, in order to strengthen his interest, and unite the factions, marries Beatrice, daughter of the murdered emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death. The diet puts the assassin to the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more: some time after he murders the emperor's murderer.

1209.

Otho IV. still more to corroborate his interest, confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges those which have been arrogated by the popes. He writes to Innocent III. "We will yield you that obedience which our predecessors have yielded to yours." He leaves him in possession of the countries which the pontiff had already recovered, namely, Viterbo, Orvieta, and Perugia. He promises him all the famous inheritance of Mathilda; and he cedes to him the territorial superiority, that is, the supremacy and dependance of Naples and Sicily,

1210.

No greater harmony could possibly appear; but scarce is he crowned at Rome, when he makes war upon the pope for these very towns.

He had left to the pope the right paramount and charge of Naples and Sicily; and he goes to make himself master of Apulia, the inheritance of young Frederick, king of the Romans, who was stripped at once of the empire and his mother's inheritance.

1211.

Innocent III. can do no less than excommunicate Otho. Excommunication is a meer trifle against an established prince; but a very serious affair against a prince who has enemies.

The dukes of Bavaria and Austria, and the landgrave of Thuringia, resolve to dethrone him. The archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him, and the whole faction acknowledges young Frederick II.

Germany is again divided. Otho, on the brink of losing Germany for having attempted to seize Apulia, repasses the Alps.

1212.

The emperor Otho assembles his adherents at Nuremberg. Young Frederick passes the Alps after him, and makes himself master of Alsace, the noblemen of which declare in his favour. He engages Ferri duke of Lorrain in his party. Germany is from one end to the other the scene of civil war.

1213.

Frederick II. at length receives the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from the archbishop of Mentz.

Mean while, Otho supports himself, and regains almost every thing, when he seems to be on the eve of losing the whole.

He was still protected by England; while his competitor Frederick II. enjoyed the protection of France. Otho reinforces his party by marrying

rying the daughter of the duke of Brabant after the death of his wife Beatrice. John, king of England, gives him money to attack the king of France. This John was not yet John Lackland *, though he was destined to be so, and became like Otho most unfortunate.

1214.

It seems very remarkable, that Otho, who a year before could scarce defend himself in Germany, should now be able to make war upon Philip Augustus. But he was followed by the dukes of Limburg and Lorrain, the count of Holland, with all the noblemen of that country, and the count of Flanders, who had been interested by the king of England. It is still problematical, whether or not the counts of Flanders, who then did homage to France, were, notwithstanding that homage, considered as vassals of the empire.

Otho marches towards Valenciennes with an army of above an hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, while Frederick II. concealed somewhere about Swisserland, waited the issue of this great enterprize. Philip Augustus was hard pressed between the emperor and the king of England.

The BATTLE of BOVINES.

Between Lile and Tournay there is a small village called Bovines, near which Otho IV. at

* Our author is here mistaken in two circumstances. John was called Lackland from his having no landed estate or patrimony, during the life of his elder brother. It was not he, but his brother Richard, who had so generously assisted Otho; as for John, he refused to pay the legacy which his brother left to that prince, alledging, that he had released himself by oath from assisting Otho, either with money, jewels, land, or men.

the

the head of an army said to be an hundred and twenty thousand strong, attacked the king, who had scarce half the number. At that time they began to use cross-bows, machines which threw long and heavy arrows, and which were bent with a tourniquet. This weapon was in use under Lewis the Great. But what decided the fate of a battle was the heavy cavalry, quite covered with iron, consisting of all the lords of the fields, and their squires. The knights wore a cuirass, buskins, knee-pieces, brasslets, cuisses, and an helmet. All this armour was made of iron, and above the cuirass they had a shirt of mail called *Haubert*, from the word *Albus*. This coat of mail was adorned with a piece of stuff embroidered with the knight's coat of arms. These bearings, which began to be in use, were called coats of arms, because they were figured on the knight's arms, to distinguish him in battle. Squires had no right to wear the hauberts or haubergeon. Their helmet was not faced and closed, consequently not so good a defence. They had no brasslets nor cuisses; thus armed more lightly, they had more agility in mounting a horse, and could better raise up in battle, those heavy masses of knights, who could not move, or even be wounded but with difficulty. Besides, the complete armour of knights was a prerogative of honour, to which the squires had no pretension; they were not allowed to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to fear, was being wounded in the face when he lifted up his beaver, or in the flank, through any defect in his cuirass, when he was beaten down, or when his coat of mail was taken

taken off; or lastly in the armpits, when he raised his arms. There was likewise troops of cavalry draughted from the common soldiery, not so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, every man had what defensive armour he pleased to wear, and his offensive arms were the sword, the arrow, the club, and sling.

It was a bishop who drew up in the front of battle the army of Philip Augustus. His name was Guerin, and he had been appointed to the see of Senlis. There was also at that battle a bishop of Beauvais, who had been long kept prisoner by Richard king of England; he used a club or mace, saying, he should be irregular if he shed human blood. It is not known in what manner the emperor and king disposed their troops. Philip, before the battle, ordered his army to sing the psalm, *Exurgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici ejus*, as if Otho had been fighting against God. Formerly the French sung verses in honour of Charlemagne and Orlando. The imperial standard of Otho, fixed in a waggon with four wheels, according to the custom of Germany and Italy, was a long pole supporting a wooden dragon painted, and above the dragon was a gilded eagle of wood. The royal standard of France was a gilded staff, with an ensign of white silk, powdered with golden flowers de lis; for this ornament called flowers de lis, which was no other than a fancy of the painter, began to be assumed as the armorial bearing of the kings of France. The ancient crowns of the Lombard kings, of which we have exact prints in Muratori, are surmounted with this ornament, which is nothing but the iron head
of

of a lance, bound with two other crooked pieces of iron: this is likewise the figure of several sceptres of the old Lombard kings.

Besides the royal standard, Philip Augustus brought into the field the oriflame of St. Denis, which was made of gilded copper, to which was fixed a red flag. When the king was in danger, they raised or lowered one or other of these standards. Every knight had likewise his own, called a Pendant, and the great knights, who had other knights under them, were provided with another ensign called a Banner. This term Banner, which is so honourable, was nevertheless common to the ensigns of the infantry, which was almost wholly composed of Serfs, or people lately made free.

The cry of war commonly used by the French was *Mon Joie St. Denis*: they said indifferently *Mon Joie*, or *Ma Joie*, in the barbarous jargon of France. The German cry was still, *Kyrie-eleyson*.

The Teutonic army, though very strong in infantry, had fewer knights than that of the king. It is to this difference chiefly that we must attribute the victory in this great battle. Those squadrons of horse caparisoned with steel, carrying men impenetrable to blows, and armed with long lances, could not fail to put in disorder the German soldiery almost naked and disarmed, in comparison of those moving citadels.

A proof that knights who were well armed, ran less risk than that of being dismounted, and were never wounded except by great accident, is that king Philip Augustus thrown from

from his horse was for a long time surrounded by enemies, and received strokes from all kinds of arms, without losing a drop of blood *. It is even reported that as he lay upon the ground, a German soldier attempted to thrust a bearded javelin into his throat, but never could penetrate. No knight was killed in the battle, except William de long Champ, an unlucky knight, died of a thrust in the eye, which he received thro' the visor of his helmet.

They reckon on the side of the Germans five and twenty knights bannerets, and seven counts of the empire prisoners, but not one wounded; the real danger at that time fell upon the light horse, and especially the infantry of slaves or freed men, who endured all the fatigue and peril of the war.

The emperor Otho lost the battle. Thirty thousand Germans are said to be killed; a number probably exaggerated. The custom then was to load the prisoners with chains. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were carried to Paris, with shackles on their arms and legs. This was a settled, though barbarous custom. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, said himself, that when he was arrested in Germany, contrary to the law of nations, they loaded him with as heavy chains as he could possibly carry.

With regard to the consequences, we do not find that the king of France made any conquest

* Heiss says, the king of France was wounded in the throat.——It is diverting enough to see M. de Voltaire, who exclaims against the description of battles, thus displaying the glory of France.

Many after his victory at
 in the side of this success acquired much
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 more augustus sends to Frederick in Swit-
 Phil neither he had retired; the imperial cat-
 ferlane the German Eagle; this was a tro-
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END of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME

